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MAENADISM IN THE BACCHAE¹

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I

"IN ART, as well as in poetry, the representation of these wild states of enthusiasm was apparently due to the imagination alone, for in prose literature we have very little evidence, in historic times, of women actually holding revels² in the open air. Such a practice would have been alien to the spirit of seclusion which pervaded the life of womankind in Greece. . . . The festivals of the Thyiads were mainly confined to Parnassus." Thus Sandys in the introduction to his justly admired edition of the Bacchae. Diodorus, on the other hand, tells us (4.3) that "In many Greek states congregations (*βακχέλαι*) of women assemble every second year, and the unmarried girls are allowed to carry the thyrsus and share the transports of the elders (*συνεμβουσιάζειν*)." And since Sandys' day inscriptional evidence from various parts of the Greek world has confirmed Diodorus' statement. We know now that such biennial festivals (*τριετηρίδες*) existed at Thebes, Opus, Melos, Pergamum, Priene, Rhodes; and they are attested for Alea in Arcadia by Pausanias, for Mitylene by Aelian, for Crete by Firmicus Maternus.³ Their character may have varied a good deal from

¹ I must express my thanks to Professor A. D. Nock, whose friendly criticisms of this paper have saved me from several errors.

² This traditional rendering of *βακχεύειν* has unfortunate associations. *βακχεύειν* is not to have a good time, but to share in a particular religious rite and/or have a particular religious experience — the experience of communion with god which transformed a human being into a *βάκχος* or a *βάκχη*.

³ Fouilles de Delphes, III. i. 195; I. G., IX. 282; XII. iii. 1089; Fraenkel, In. Perg., 248 (cf. Suidas s. v. *τριετηρίς*); Hiller v. Gärtringen, In. Priene 113 l. 79; I. G., XII. i. 155, 730; Paus., 8. 23. 1; Ael., Var. Hist., 13. 2; Firm. Mat., Err. prof. rel. 6. 5. Also *τριετηρίδες* among the half-hellenized Budini in Thrace, Hdt., IV. 108.

place to place, but we can hardly doubt that they normally included women's *ὄργια* of the ecstatic or quasi-ecstatic type described by Diodorus, and that these often, if not always, involved nocturnal *ὄρειβασία* or mountain dancing. This strange rite, described in the Bacchae and practised by women's societies at the Delphic *τριετηρίς* down to Plutarch's time, was certainly practised elsewhere also: at Miletus the priestess of Dionysus still "led the women to the mountain" in late Hellenistic times;⁴ at Erythrae the title *Μιμαντοβάτης* points to an *ὄρειβασία* on Mount Mimas.⁵ Dionysus himself is *ὄρειος* (Festus, p. 182), *ὄρειμάνης* (Tryph., 370), *ὀρέσκιος*, *οὔρεσιφοίτης* (Anth. Pal., 9.524); and Strabo in discussing Dionysiac and other related mystery cults speaks quite generally of *τὰς ὀρειβασίας τῶν περὶ τὸ θεῖον σπουδαζόντων* (X. iii. 23).

The *ὄρειβασία* took place at night in midwinter, and must have involved great discomfort and some risk: Pausanias⁶ says that at Delphi the women went to the very summit of Parnassus (which is over 8,000 feet high), and Plutarch⁷ describes an occasion, apparently in his own life-time, when they were cut off by a snowstorm and a rescue party had to be sent out — when they returned, their clothes were frozen as stiff as boards. What was the object of this practice? Many people dance to make their crops grow, by sympathetic magic; but such dances elsewhere are annual like the crops, not biennial like the *ὄρειβασία*; their season is spring, not midwinter; and their scene is the cornland, not the barren mountain tops. Late Greek writers thought of the dances at Delphi as commemorative: they dance, says Diodorus (4. 3), "in imitation of the maenads who are said to have been associated with the god in the old days." Probably he is right, as regards his own time; but ritual is usually older than the myth by which people ex-

⁴ Wiegand, Milet, IV, p. 547 *εἰς ὄρος ἦγε*: cf. Bacch., 116, 165, 977, which suggest that *εἰς ὄρος* may have been a ritual cry.

⁵ Waddington, Explic. des Inscr. d'Asie Min., p. 27, no. 57. That the title is Dionysiac is not certain. But there is literary evidence of Dionysiac *ὄρειβασία* on Tmolus, the eastern part of the same mountain range: Nonnus 40. 273 *εἰς σκοπιάς Τμῶλοιο θεόσσυτος ἦε βάκχη*, H. Orph. 49. 6 *Τμῶλος . . . καλὸν Λυδοῖσι θάσμα* (hence *ἱερὸν Τμῶλον*, Eur., Bacch., 65)."

⁶ X. 32. 5.

⁷ *de primo frigido*, 18, 953 D.

plain it, and has deeper psychological roots. There must have been a time when the maenads or thyiads or *βάκχαι* really became for a few hours or days what their name implies — wild women whose human personality has been temporarily replaced by another. Whether this might still be so in Euripides' day we have no sure means of knowing; a Delphic tradition recorded by Plutarch ⁸ suggests that a true disturbance of personality sometimes occurred as late as the fourth century, but the evidence is very slender, nor is the nature of the change at all clear. There are, however, parallel phenomena in other cultures which may help us to understand the *πάροδος* of the Bacchae and the punishment of Agave.

In many societies, perhaps in all societies, there are people for whom, as Mr. Aldous Huxley puts it in a recent book, "ritual dances provide a religious experience that seems more satisfying and convincing than any other. . . . It is with their muscles that they most easily obtain knowledge of the divine." ⁹ Mr. Huxley thinks that Christianity made a mistake when it allowed the dance to become completely secularized,¹⁰ since, in the words of a Mohammedan sage, "he that knows the Power of the Dance dwells in God." But the Power of the Dance is a dangerous power. Like other forms of self-surrender, it is easier to begin than to stop. In the extraordinary dancing madness which periodically invaded Europe from the 14th to the 17th century, people danced until they dropped — like the dancer at Bacchae, 136 or the dancer on a Berlin vase, no. 2471 ¹¹ — and lay unconscious, trodden underfoot by their fellows.¹² Also the thing is highly infectious. As Pentheus ob-

⁸ *mul.*, *virt.*, 249 E.

⁹ *Ends and Means*, 232, 235.

¹⁰ Dancing as a form of worship seems to have survived longest in certain of the American sects. Ray Strachey, *Group Movements of the Past*, p. 93, quotes the exhortation of the Shaker Elder 100 years ago: "Go forth, old men, young men and maidens, and worship God with all your might in the dance." And it appears that the sacral dance is still practised by members of the Holiness Church in Kentucky (*Picture Post*, Dec. 31, 1938).

¹¹ Reproduced by Lawler, *Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome*, 6 (1927), Pl. 21, no. 1.

¹² Chronicle of Limburg (1374), quoted by A. Martin, *Gesch. der Tanzkrankheit in Deutschland*, *Zeitschrift d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, 24 (1914). Similarly the Ghost

serves at Bacchae, 778, it spreads like wildfire. The will to dance takes possession of people without the consent of the conscious mind: e.g. at Liège in 1374, after certain possessed folk had come dancing half naked into the town with garlands on their heads, dancing in the name of St. John, we are told that "many persons seemingly sound in mind and body were suddenly possessed by the devils and joined the dancers"; these persons left house and home, like the Theban women in the play; even young girls cut themselves off from their family and friends and wandered away with the dancers.¹³ Against a similar mania in seventeenth century Italy "neither youth nor age," it is said, "afforded any protection; so that even old men of ninety threw aside their crutches at the sound of the tarantella, and as if some magic potion, restorative of youth and vigour, flowed through their veins, they joined the most extravagant dancers."¹⁴ The Cadmus-Teiresias scene of the Bacchae was thus, it would appear, frequently re-enacted, justifying the poet's remark (206 ff.) that Dionysus imposes no age limit. Even sceptics were sometimes, like Agave, infected with the mania against their will, and contrary to their professed belief.¹⁵ In Alsace it was held in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the dancing madness could be imposed on a victim by cursing him with it.¹⁶ In some cases the compulsive obsession reappeared at regular intervals, growing in intensity until St. John's or St. Vitus's day, when an outbreak occurred and was followed by a return to normality;¹⁷ while in Italy the periodic "cure" of afflicted patients by music and ecstatic dancing seems to have developed into an annual festival.¹⁸

Dance, for which North American Indians developed a passion in the 1870's, went on "till the dancers, one after another, fell rigid, prostrate on the ground" (Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, 92).

¹³ Quoted by Martin, l. c., from various contemporary documents. His account supplements, and in some points corrects, the classic work of J. F. K. Hecker, *Die Tanzwuth* (1832: I quote from the Eng. trans. by Babington, Cassell's Library, 1888).

¹⁴ Hecker, *op. cit.*, 152 f.

¹⁶ Martin, 120 f.

¹⁵ Hecker, 156.

¹⁷ Hecker, 128 ff.; Martin, 125 ff.

¹⁸ Hecker, 143 f., 150. Martin, 129 ff., finds a formal and regulated survival of the Rhenish compulsive-curative dances in the annual dancing procession of Esternach, which is still believed to be a cure for epilepsy and similar psychopathic complaints.

This last fact suggests the way in which in Greece the ritual oreibasia at a fixed date may originally have developed out of spontaneous attacks of mass hysteria. By canalizing such hysteria in an organized rite once in two years, the Dionysiac cult kept it within bounds and gave it a relatively harmless outlet. What the *πάροδος* of the Bacchae depicts is hysteria subdued to the service of religion; what happened on Mount Cithaeron was hysteria in the raw, the dangerous bacchism¹⁹ which descends as a punishment on the too respectable and sweeps them away against their will. Dionysus is present in both: like St. John or St. Vitus, he is the cause of madness and the liberator from madness, *Βάκχος* and *Δύσιος*.²⁰ We must keep this ambivalence in mind if we are rightly to understand the play. To resist Dionysus is to repress the elemental in one's own nature; the punishment is the sudden complete collapse of the inward dykes when the elemental breaks through perforce and civilization vanishes.

There are, further, certain resemblances in points of detail between the orgiastic religion of the Bacchae and orgiastic religion elsewhere, which are worth noticing because they tend to establish that the "maenad" is a real, not a conventional figure, and one that has existed under different names at widely different times and places. The first concerns the flutes and tympana or kettledrums which accompany the maenad dance in the Bacchae and on Greek vases.²¹ To the Greeks these were the "orgiastic" instruments par excellence:²² they were used in all the great dancing cults, those of the Asiatic Cybele and the Cretan Rhea as well as that of Dionysus. They could cause

¹⁹ Perhaps expressed in Laconia by the term *Δύσμαιναι* (the title of a tragedy by Pratinas, Nauck, T. G. F.², p. 726). Failure to distinguish the "black" maenadism described by the Messengers from the "white" maenadism described by the chorus has been responsible for much misunderstanding of the Bacchae.

²⁰ Cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, IX, n. 21; Farnell, *Cults*, V. 120. Others explain *Δύσιος* and *Ανῆος* as the liberator from convention (Wilamowitz) or the liberator of the imprisoned (Weinreich, *Tübinger Beiträge*, V (1930), 285 f., comparing Bacch., 498).

²¹ In vase paintings of maenads Lawler, l. c., 107 f. finds 38 occurrences of the flute and 26 of the tympanum, also 38 of crotala or castanets (cf. Eur., *Cycl.*, 204 f.). She notes that "tranquil scenes never show the use of the tympanum."

²² For the flute cf. Ar., *Pol.*, 1341^a 21 οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ αὐλὸς ἡθικὸν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὀργιαστικόν, and Eur., *Her.*, 871, 879. For the *τύμπανον* in orgiastic cults at Athens, Aristoph., *Lys.*, 1-3, 388.

madness, and in homoeopathic doses they could also cure it.²³ And 2000 years later, in the year 1518, when the crazy dancers of St. Vitus were dancing through Alsace, a similar music — the music of drum and pipe — was used again for the same ambiguous purpose, to provoke the madness and to cure it: we still have the minute of the Strassburg Town Council on the subject.²⁴ That is certainly not tradition, probably not coincidence: it looks like the rediscovery of a real causal connection, of which today only the War Office and the Salvation Army retain some faint awareness.

A second point is the carriage of the head in Dionysiac ecstasy. This is repeatedly stressed in the *Bacchae*: 150, "flinging his long hair to the sky"; 865, a bolder phrase, "flinging my throat to the dewy sky"; 241, "I will stop you tossing back your hair"; 930, "tossing my head forwards and backwards like a bacchanal"; similarly elsewhere the possessed Cassandra "flings her golden locks when there blows from God the compelling wind of second sight" (I. A., 758.) The same trait is constant, though less vividly described, in later writers: the Maenads still "toss their heads" in Catullus, in Ovid, in Tacitus.²⁵ And we see this backflung head and upturned throat in ancient works of art, e.g. the gems figured by Sandys, pages 58 and 73, or the maenad on the bas-relief in the British Museum (*Marbles II.*, Pl. xiii, Sandys, p. 85).²⁶ But the gesture is not simply a convention of Greek poetry and art; at all times and everywhere it characterizes this particular type of religious hysteria. I take three independent modern descriptions: "the continual jerking their heads back, causing their long black hair to twist about, added much to their savage appearance";²⁷ "their long hair was tossed about by the rapid to-and-fro move-

²³ Cf. the passages about corybantism collected by Rohde, IX, nn. 18, 19.

²⁴ Martin, 121 f. So too the Turkish drum and shepherd's pipe were used in Italy (Hecker, 151).

²⁵ Cat., Attis, 23; Ovid, *Metam.*, III. 726; Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 31.

²⁶ For further examples see Rapp in Roscher's *Lex. Myth.*, II. 2274. Lawler, l. c., 101, finds a "strong backward bend" of the head in 28 figures of maenads on vases.

²⁷ Quoted in Frazer, *Golden Bough*, V. i. 19. Similarly in voodoo dances "their heads are thrown weirdly back as if their necks were broken" (W. B. Seabrook, *The Magic Island*, 47).

ments of the head";²⁸ "the head was tossed from side to side or thrown far back above a swollen and bulging throat."²⁹ The first phrase is from a missionary's account of a cannibal dance in British Columbia which led up to the tearing asunder and eating of a human body; the second describes a sacral dance of goat-eaters in Morocco; the third is from a clinical description of possessive hysteria by a French doctor.

Nor is this the only analogy which links these scattered types. The ecstatic dancers in Euripides "carried fire on their heads and it did not burn them" (757).³⁰ So does the ecstatic dancer elsewhere. In British Columbia he dances with glowing coals held in his hands, plays with them recklessly and even puts them in his mouth;³¹ so he does in South Africa;³² and so also in Sumatra.³³ In Siam³⁴ and in Siberia³⁵ he claims to be invulnerable so long as the god remains within him — just as the dancers on Cithaeron were invulnerable (761). And our European doctors have found an explanation or half-explanation in their hospitals: during his attacks the hysterical patient is often in fact analgesic — all sensitiveness to pain is repressed.³⁶

An interesting account of the use, both spontaneous and curative, of ecstatic dancing and ecstatic music (trumpet, drum and fife) in Abyssinia at the beginning of the nineteenth century is to be found in *The Life and Adventures of Nathaniel Pearce*, written by himself during a Residence in Abyssinia from the years 1810 to 1819, I, 290 ff. (quoted by Hecker, *op. cit.*, 164 ff.). It has several points in common with Eurip-

²⁸ Frazer, *ibid.*, V. i. 21.

²⁹ P. Richer, *Études cliniques sur la grande hystérie*, 441. Cf. S. Bazdechi, *Das Psychopathische Substrat der Bacch.*, *Arch. Gesch. Med.*, 25 (1932), 288.

³⁰ For other ancient evidence on this point see Rohde, *Psyche*, VIII, n. 43.

³¹ Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, 176.

³² O. Dapper, *Beschreibung von Africa*, quoted in T. K. Oesterreich, *Possession*, 264, Eng. trans.

³³ J. Warneck, *Religion der Batak*, quoted, *ibid.*, 270.

³⁴ A. Bastian, *Völker des Östlichen Asiens*, III, 282 f.: "When the Chao (demon lord) is obliged by the conjurations to descend into the body of the Khon Song (a person dressed as the demon lord), the latter remains invulnerable so long as he is there, and cannot be touched by any kind of weapon" (quoted, *ibid.*, 353).

³⁵ Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 176.

³⁶ Binswanger, *Die Hysterie*, 756.

ides' description. At the culminating moment of the dance the patient "made a start with such swiftness that the fastest runner could not come up with her (cf. Bacch., 748, 1090), and when at a distance of about 200 yards she dropped on a sudden as if shot (cf. Bacch., 136 and n. 12 above)." Pearce's native wife, who caught the mania, danced and jumped "more like a deer than a human being" (cf. Bacch., 866 ff., 166 ff.). Again, "I have seen them in these fits dance with a bruly, or bottle of maize, upon their heads without spilling the liquor, or letting the bottle fall, although they have put themselves into the most extravagant postures" (cf. Bacch., 755 f., Nonnus, XLV, 294 ff.).

The whole description of the maenads' raid on the Theban villages (Bacch., 748-64) corresponds to the known behavior of comparable groups elsewhere. Among many peoples persons in abnormal states, whether natural or induced, are privileged to plunder the community: to interfere with their acts would be dangerous, since they are for the time being in contact with the supernatural. Thus in Liberia the novices who are undergoing initiation in the forest are licensed to raid and plunder neighboring villages, carrying off everything they want; so also the members of secret societies in Senegal, the Bismarck Archipelago, etc., during the period when their rites have set them apart from the community.³⁷ This state of affairs belongs no doubt to a stage of social organization which fifth century Greece had long outgrown; but legend or ritual may have preserved the memory of it, and Euripides may have encountered the actuality in Macedonia. An attenuated ritual survival is perhaps to be seen even today in the behavior of the Viza mummers: "in general," says Dawkins, "anything lying about may be seized as a pledge to be redeemed, and the Koritzia (girls) especially carry off babies with this object."³⁸ Are these girls the direct descendants of the baby-stealing maenads of Bacch., 754 (who appear also in Nonnus and on vases³⁹)?

³⁷ A. van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage*, 161 f.

³⁸ J. H. S., 26 (1906), 197; cf. Wace, B. S. A., 16 (1909-10), 237.

³⁹ E.g. C. H. Smith, B. M. Vases, III. 368 (E775), about contemporary with the Bacchae; Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung*, Abb. 581.

Another obviously primitive element is the snake-handling (Bacch., 101 ff., 698, 768). Euripides has not understood it, although he knows that Dionysus can appear as a snake (1017 f.). After Euripides it becomes part of the conventional literary portrait of the maenad;⁴⁰ but it would seem that only in the more primitive cult of Sabazius,⁴¹ and perhaps in Macedonian Bacchism,⁴² was the living snake, as vehicle of the god, actually handled in ritual in classical times.⁴³ That such handling, even without any underlying belief in the snake's divinity, may be a powerful factor in producing religious excitement is shown by a curious recent account,⁴⁴ with photographs, of the rattlesnake ritual practised today in the Holiness Church in remote mining villages in Leslie and Perry counties, Kentucky. According to this report the snake-handling (which is ostensibly based on Mark XVI. 18 "They shall take up serpents") forms part of a religious service, and is preceded and accompanied by ecstatic dancing and followed by exhaustion. The snakes are taken from boxes and passed from hand to hand (apparently by both sexes); photographs show them held high above the worshipper's head (cf. Demos., de cor., 259 ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν) or close to his face. "One man thrust one inside his shirt and caught it as it wriggled out before it could fall to the floor" — an oddly exact parallel to the ritual act of the Sabaziasts described by Clement and Arnobius,⁴⁵ and one which may lead us to hesitate before agreeing with Dieterich⁴⁶ that the act in question "can signify absolutely

⁴⁰ Cf. the passages quoted by Sandys on Bacch., 102.

⁴¹ Demos., de cor., 259. Cf. below p. 174.

⁴² Plut., Alex. 2.

⁴³ Cf. Rapp, Rh. Mus., 27. 13. Even Sabazius, if we may believe Arnobius, eventually spared his worshippers' nerves by allowing them to use a metal snake (see n. 45). The snakes in the Dionysiac procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria (Athen., V. 28) were doubtless sham ones (like the imitation ivy and grapes described in the same passage), since the ladies were ἐστεφανωμένοι ὄφειν: a wreath of live snakes, however tame, would come undone and spoil the effect.

⁴⁴ Picture Post, Dec. 31, 1938. I am indebted to Mr. R. P. Winnington-Ingram for calling my attention to this article.

⁴⁵ Protrep., II. 16 δρακὼν δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος (sc. Σαβάζιος) διελκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων; Arnob., V. 21 aureus coluber in sinum demittitur consecratis et eximitur rursus ab inferioribus partibus atque imis. Cf. also Firmicus Maternus, Err. prof. rel., 10.

⁴⁶ Mithrasliturgie², 124. The unconscious motive may of course be sexual in both cases.

nothing else than the sexual union of the god with the initiate”!

It remains to say something of the culminating act of the Dionysiac winter dance, which was also the culminating act of the Columbian and Moroccan dances mentioned above — the tearing to pieces, and swallowing raw, of an animal body, *σπαραγμός* and *ώμοφαγία*. The gloating descriptions of this act in certain Christian fathers may well be discounted, and it is hard to know how much weight to attach to the anonymous evidence of scholiasts and lexicographers on the subject;⁴⁷ but that it still had some place in the Greek orgiastic ritual in classical times is attested not only by the respectable authority of Plutarch,⁴⁸ but by the regulations of the Dionysiac cult at Miletus in 276 B.C.,⁴⁹ where we read *μη̄ ἐξεῖναι ώμοφάγιον έμβαλεῖν μηθενῑ πρότερον ἢ ἡ ἱέρεια ὑπέρ τῆς πόλεως έμβάλῃ*. The phrase *ώμοφάγιον έμβαλεῖν* has puzzled scholars. I do not think that it means “to throw a sacrificial animal into a pit” (Wiegand, *ad loc.*) or “to throw a joint of beef into a sacred place” (Haussoulier, *R. E. G.*, 32. 266). A bloodier but more convincing picture is suggested by Ernest Thesiger’s account of an incident in Tangier in 1907:⁵⁰ “A hill-tribe descends upon the town in a state of semi-starvation and drugged delirium. After the usual beating of tom-toms, screaming of the pipes and monotonous dancing, a sheep is thrown into the middle of the square, upon which all the devotees come to life and tear the animal limb from limb and eat it raw.” The writer adds a story that “one year a Tangier Moor, who was watching the proceedings, got infected with the general frenzy of the crowd and threw his baby into the middle of them.” Whether the last is true or not, the passage gives a clue to the meaning of *έμβαλεῖν*, and also illustrates the possible dangers of unregulated *ώμοφαγία*. The administration at Miletus was engaged in the ever-recurrent task of putting Dionysus in a strait waistcoat.

In the *Bacchae*, *σπαραγμός* is practised first on the Theban cattle and then on Pentheus; in both cases it is described with

⁴⁷ Collected in Farnell, *Cults*, V, p. 302 f., nn. 80–84.

⁴⁸ *Def. orac.*, 14, 417C *ἡμέρας ἀποφράδας καὶ σκυθρωπάς, ἐν αἷς ώμοφαγαίαι καὶ διασπασμοί*.

⁴⁹ *Milet*, VI. 22.

⁵⁰ Kindly communicated to me by Miss N. C. Jolliffe.

a gusto which the modern reader has difficulty in sharing. A detailed description of the *ώμοφαγία* would perhaps have been too much for the stomachs even of an Athenian audience; Euripides speaks of it twice, *Bacchae*, 139 and *Cretans*, fragm. 475, but in each place he passes over it swiftly and discreetly. It is hard to guess at the psychological state that he describes in the two words *ώμοφάγον χάριν*; but it is noteworthy that the days appointed for *ώμοφαγία* were "unlucky and black days,"⁵¹ and in fact those who practise such a rite in our time seem to experience in it a mixture of supreme exaltation and supreme repulsion: it is at once holy and horrible, fulfilment and uncleanness, a sacrament and a pollution — the same violent conflict of emotional attitudes that runs all through the *Bacchae* and lies at the root of all religion of the Dionysiac type.⁵²

Late Greek writers explained the *ώμοφαγία* as they did the dancing, and as some would explain the Christian communion: it was merely a commemorative rite, in memory of the day when the infant Dionysus was himself torn to pieces and devoured.⁵³ But the practice seems to rest in fact on a very simple piece of savage logic. The homoeopathic effects of a flesh diet are known all over the world. If you want to be lion-hearted, you must eat lion; if you want to be subtle, you must eat snake; those who eat chickens and hares will be cowards, those who eat pork will get little piggy eyes.⁵⁴ By parity of reasoning, if you want to be like god you must eat god (or at any rate something which is *θεῖον*). And you must eat him quick and raw, before the blood has oozed from him: only so can you add his life to yours, for "the blood is the life." God is not always there to be eaten, nor indeed would it be safe to eat him at common times and without due preparation for the reception of the sacrament. But once in two years he is present among his mountain dancers: "the Boeotians," says Diodorus (4. 3),

⁵¹ See n. 48.

⁵² Cf. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, 179: "The very repugnance which the Kwakiutl (Indians of Vancouver Island) felt towards the act of eating human flesh made it for them a fitting expression of the Dionysian virtue that lies in the terrible and the forbidden."

⁵³ Schol. Clem. Alex. 92P. (vol. i, p. 318, Stählin); Photius s. v. *νεβρίζειν*; Firm. Mat., Err. prof. rel., 6. 5.

⁵⁴ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, V. ii, chap. 12.

"and the other Greeks and Thracians believe that at this time he has his epiphany among men" — just as he has in the Bacchae. He may appear in many forms, vegetable, bestial, human; and he is eaten in many forms. In Plutarch's day it was the ivy that was torn to pieces and chewed: ⁵⁵ that may be primitive, or it may be a surrogate for something bloodier. In Euripides bulls are torn, ⁵⁶ the goat torn and eaten; ⁵⁷ we hear elsewhere of *ὠμοφαγία* of fawns ⁵⁸ and rending of vipers. ⁵⁹ Since in all these we may with greater or less probability recognize embodiments of the god, I accept Gruppe's view ⁶⁰ that the *ὠμοφαγία* was a sacrament in which God was present in his beast-vehicle and was torn and eaten in that shape by his people. (I should be disposed to argue further that there once existed a more potent, because more dreadful, form of this sacrament, viz., the rending, and perhaps the eating, of God in the shape of man; and that the story of Pentheus is in part a reflection of that act — in opposition to the fashionable euhe-merism which sees in it *only* the reflection of a historical conflict between Dionysiac missionaries and their opponents. But the question is too complex and difficult to be dealt with here.)

To sum up: I have tried to show that Euripides' description of maenadism is not to be accounted for in terms of "the imagination alone"; that inscriptional evidence (incomplete as it is) reveals a closer relationship with actual cult than Victorian scholars realized; and that the maenad, however mythical certain of her acts, is not in essence a mythological character ⁶¹ but an observed and still observable human type. Dionysus has still his votaries or victims, though we call them by other names; and Pentheus was confronted by a problem which other civil authorities have had to face in real life.

⁵⁵ Plut., Q. Rom., 112, 291A.

⁵⁶ Bacch., 743 ff., cf. Schol. Aristoph., Ranae, 360.

⁵⁷ Bacch., 138, cf. Arnob., adv. Nat., 5. 19.

⁵⁸ Photius s. v. *νεβρίζειν*. Cf. the art type of the maenad *νεβροφόνος*, most recently discussed by H. Philippart, *Iconographie des "Bacchantes,"* 41 ff.

⁵⁹ Galen, de antidot., I. 6. 14 (in a spring festival, probably of Sabazius).

⁶⁰ Griech. Myth. u. Rel., 732.

⁶¹ As argued by Rapp, *Rh. Mus.*, 27. 1 ff., 562 ff., and accepted e.g. by Marbach in *Pauly-Wissowa s. v.* and Voigt in *Roscher s. v.* Dionysos.

II

Many things in the Bacchae are doubtless traditional. We know that the woman-faced god, the fawnskins, the *σπαραγμός* and probably the earthquake figured in Aeschylus' Dionysiac plays; how much else, we cannot hope to know unless a papyrus find should supplement the scanty existing fragments. But there are also recognizable in the Bacchae, as in most of Euripides' plays, certain things which are not traditional but have their context in the life of his own day. The clearest examples are to be found in the discourse of Teiresias, which belongs to the later fifth century and makes no sense from any other standpoint. Teiresias' dramatic function is to justify a new and revolutionary cult, and defend it against the aspersions cast by the conservative Pentheus; his god is a new god, *ὁ δαίμων ὁ νέος*.⁶² Yet he announces himself as the champion of the *πάτριον παραδοχαί*, "old as time itself," and couples the announcement with a seeming allusion to a book by Protagoras.⁶³ The anachronism is too glaring to be unintentional: it looks like a deliberate hint that the debate which is to follow will be, like many other debates in Euripides, a fifth century controversy transposed into the mythical past. And the suspicion is confirmed when he proceeds to talk about the economic origin of religion in the style of Prodicus, and to propound linguistic phantasies in the style of Cratylus. Two-thirds of his discourse is completely undramatic, and to a modern reader somewhat uninteresting — because we have lost the point of reference. To some members of the play's first Athenian audience it was, I suspect, peculiarly full of interest — because it gave them the clue to the contemporary context in which they were to rethink the old story.

Where are we to look for this context? Certainly not in the official cult of Dionysus as it was practised at Athens at the

⁶² V. 272, cf. 219, 467.

⁶³ Vv. 201-3. Cf. Tierney, Proc. Royal Irish Academy, 44 (1937), 70: "some such contradiction must clearly have struck observers of contemporary Attic mystery-cults. It is, in fact, not at all unusual for a semi-secret religion to claim at once high wisdom and popularity, hoary age and novelty." It is not clear to me, however, what cults Tierney has in mind.

close of the fifth century. It is true that maenadism is, as we have seen, a real and recurrent state of mind, not a poetic fiction. But in Euripides' day maenadism, and with it all the deeper and more disturbing aspects of Dionysiac religion, had long since been eliminated from the Attic festivals of the god; indeed, were it not for the survival of the name Lenaea we might well doubt whether they had ever any footing in Attica. The Athenians had no biennial winter rite, no mountain dancing, no *ώμοφαγία*: they were content to send a delegation of women to represent them at the Delphic *τριετηρίς*. Their own Dionysiac festivals had a wholly different character: they were occasions for old-fashioned country gaiety and a little old-fashioned country magic, as at the Rural Dionysia and the Lenaea; or for pious and cheerful drunkenness, as at the Feast of Cups; or for a display of the civic and cultural greatness of Athens, as at the City Dionysia. The function of these genial Attic festivals was, in the words of Pericles,⁶⁴ to provide *ἀνά-παυλαι τῶν πόνων*; their value was more social than religious. This aspect of Dionysiac cultus is not ignored in the *Bacchae*; Euripides has expressed it beautifully in the choral ode that follows the Teiresias scene (370 ff.), with its praise of *εύφροσύνη* — the good sense which is also gladness — and its presentation of the religious life as a life of piety, gaiety and good fellowship.⁶⁵ But the Attic official cult has no relation to the main theme of the play, and it does not explain why Euripides wrote it.

Several recent critics⁶⁶ have suggested that the *Bacchae* has a close relation to the Orphic movement. But although Orpheus himself is mentioned once in passing (v. 562), and there is a reference at v. 77 to *καθαρμοί*, there seems to be little else in the play to support this idea; the Orphic myth of Zagreus and the Titans, the Orphic doctrine of rebirth, and the Orphic hope of escape from the "weary wheel" — these central elements of the Orphic faith are conspicuous by their absence. It is absurd

⁶⁴ Thuc., II. 38.

⁶⁵ Cf. K. Deichgräber, *Die Kadmos-Teiresias Scene in E.'s Bakchen*, Hermes, 70.

⁶⁶ Perdrizet, *Cultes et Mythes du Pangée*, 75 ff.; F. Ribezzo, *Riv. indo-greca-italica*, 9 (1925), 108, 10 (1926), 141; H. Philippart, *Les Thèmes mythiques des B.*, *Revue de l'université de Bruxelles*, 31 (1925-26), 527.

to suggest — though it has been suggested ⁶⁷ — either that Euripides did not know about the Orphic eschatology or that he could not mention it because it was secret doctrine (Pindar and Plato has no such scruples). I agree with Murray's judgment that in the *Bacchae* Euripides has "gone back behind Orphism to the more primitive stuff from which it was made." ⁶⁸

Where, then, did he acquire his interest in this primitive stuff? The usual answer is, "In Macedonia, where the play was written." This Macedonian hypothesis takes various forms. Some think that just as the *Archelaos* was composed as a compliment to the poet's host, the Macedonian king Archelaos, so the *Bacchae* was written to flatter the Macedonians by exalting their national god; on this view, the old Athenian rationalist assumed the accents of devotion to gratify a superstitious Macedonian audience.⁶⁹ But it is hard to believe that Euripides invented the choruses of the *Bacchae* with his tongue in his cheek; nor does Plato's account of Archelaos suggest that he was a pious and shockable monarch whose susceptibilities the poet had to spare. In any case I doubt whether Euripides had a Macedonian audience solely or mainly in mind when he wrote the *Bacchae*. Most scholars think he had, because of the complimentary references to Pieria and to the Macedonian rivers *Ἀἴλος* and *Λυδίας* (409 ff., 565 ff.). These would be especially appropriate for a Macedonian production; but they would not be strikingly inappropriate for an Athenian one — there are many descriptive passages in Euripidean lyrics which have less dramatic relevance. On the other hand, I suspect that the sermon of Teiresias would have meant even less to a Macedonian audience than it does to us.⁷⁰

There is a second, quite different, suggestion about the importance of Macedonia. It was there, according to Sandys and Wilamowitz and Bruhn, that the poet for the first time encountered the Dionysiac religion in its primitive, untamed wildness, and realized for the first time its beauty and its terror.

⁶⁷ Perdrizet, 99, Philippart, l. c.

⁶⁸ Notes on his translation of the *Bacchae*, p. 86.

⁶⁹ H. Weil, *Études sur le Drame Antique*, 110 ff.; P. Masqueray, *E. et ses idées*, 149.

⁷⁰ Cf. R. Nihard, *Le problème des Bacchantes d. E.*, Paris-Louvain, 1912, 31 ff., 62.

This is a more persuasive theory. But there are two considerations which must qualify our acceptance of it:

(a) If Euripides wanted to know what mountain dancing was like, he had only to question any Athenian woman who had attended a Delphic *τριετηρίς*: the general facts were common knowledge, as appears from Soph., *Ant.*, 1116 ff. and from the vase-paintings. On the other hand it is doubtful if he could anywhere have obtained *personal* experience of *δρειβασία*, had he been as miraculously nimble as his own Teiresias. The available evidence seems to me to support the view that this was originally a women's rite, and that the exclusion of men, other than male officials of the cult, was maintained to the end at Delphi, and down to Hellenistic times elsewhere also.⁷¹

(b) The Macedonian theory, like the old "palinode" theory, takes insufficient account of two earlier Euripidean lyrics, the song of the initiates in the *Cretans* (fr. 475) and the ode on the mysteries of Dionysus and the Mountain Mother in the *Helena* (1301 ff.). Both exhibit the same intimate understanding of the essence of orgiastic religion, and incidentally the same puzzling syncretism, as the choruses of the *Bacchae*. The date of the *Cretans* is unfortunately not known; but the striking fact that in some forty surviving trimeters from this play there is not a single resolved foot (whereas in the *Bacchae* there is one to every 2.3 trimeters) strongly suggests that it is early work.⁷² The *Helena* was played in 412. It would thus seem that the *Bacchae* is the last and fullest utterance of feelings which had haunted the poet for at least six years before his death, and probably for much longer. Since his residence

⁷¹ "Les vieux mystères bacchiques étaient réservés aux femmes," Nilsson, *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, 10 (1934), 3; contra, Festugière, *Revue Biblique*, 44 (1935), 195. Nilsson seems to me to be right, at least as regards the *δρειβασία*. For Delphi, cf. Eur., fr. 752, Ar., *Nub.*, 605, Plut., *mul. virt.*, 249C, Paus., X. 4. 3; Eur., *Ion*, 550 ff. does not prove that men took part in the actual *δρειβασία* — Xuthus apparently met his maenad in his host's house, not on Parnassus. At Miletus the priestess "leads the women to the mountain on behalf of the whole state" (*Milet*, IV, p. 547). At Methymna we hear of an official called the *γυναικονόμος* who is to see that no other male is present at the *παννυχίς*; he must be over forty (*I. G.*, XII. ii. 499). Euripides in his description of the normal rite (*Bacch.*, 135 ff.) appears to recognize only one male celebrant, who is identified with the god; he corresponds to the *Μιμαντοβάτης* at Erythrae.

⁷² Cf. Zielinski, *Tragoudoumena*, 226.

in Macedonia covered less than the last two years of his life,⁷³ it follows that we must seek the origin of these feelings elsewhere.

I think it is not impossible to make a guess at the context in which they developed. The invasion of the western mind by eastern religious ideas is not something which happened once in ancient history. It happened once on an overwhelming scale; but in principle it is a recurrent phenomenon, something which reappears like the plague whenever the conditions favor its emergence — that is to say, roughly, whenever immigration from the East has been sufficiently intense and prolonged, and at the same time the western mind is sufficiently discouraged to be receptive. These conditions coexisted at Athens during the later years of the Peloponnesian War. For more than half a century past the trade of the East had been flowing into the Piraeus, bringing with it thousands of eastern slaves and eastern metics;⁷⁴ at the same time, under the cumulative strain of war, faith in reason, faith in progress, faith in democracy, faith in the whole fifth century way of thinking and living, were steadily ebbing away from the Athenian people. The conditions were present, and there is a good deal of scattered evidence which indicates that the usual results followed. For example, in the year 415, just as the great expedition, was setting sail for Sicily, or while it was under discussion, two queer incidents happened which affected people's nerves unpleasantly: an unknown individual jumped suddenly on to the altar of the Twelve Gods and there mutilated himself with a stone knife in the manner of a priest of Cybele; and the streets were filled with what seemed to be funeral processions — long processions of women who wailed and beat their breasts in honor of a dead god whose name was Adonis.⁷⁵ The latter occasion is probably

⁷³ How much less we do not know. He was presumably still in Athens in the spring of 408, when the Orestes was played; he was dead by the spring of 406, when Sophocles' chorus were mourning for him.

⁷⁴ Cf. Xen., *de vect.*, II, 3, *Λυδοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Σύροι καὶ ἄλλοι παντοδαποὶ βάρβαροι· πολλοὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι τῶν μετοίκων.* On eastern slaves in Athens, P. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les grecs*, 151. On the growth of superstition at Athens during the Peloponnesian War, O. Kern, *Religion der Griechen*, II, 287 ff.

⁷⁵ Plut., *Nic.*, 13, *Alc.*, 18. Plutarch may have exaggerated the proximity in date of the Adonia to the sailing of the expedition, but I see no reason to dismiss the whole

identical with that referred to in the *Lysistrata*, when the speeches in the Assembly were drowned in the din of the *Adonia*. In the same passage Aristophanes makes the speaker complain of the beating of kettledrums and the voices of women crying upon Sabazius.⁷⁶ Those foreigners down in the Piraeus, not content to practise their mysteries in the twilight of their licensed chapels, had started to proselytize. Probably at first they had little success with the men — in time of war, men have other things to think about — but the infection was spreading among the wives and daughters of Athenian citizens. It was a return of the past: under the stresses generated by war, the hard-won civilization of the fifth century was beginning to crack in places, and disagreeably primitive things poked up here and there through the cracks. Tradition says that the first *μητραγύρτης* who appeared in Athens converted so many women that their angry men-folk threw him into the *βάραθρον*.⁷⁷ By the end of the century such drastic measures were no longer possible; the Phrygian Cybele was accepted as identical with the Greek “Mother” who had her official temple in the heart of Athens,⁷⁸ and her Thracian counterpart Bendis enjoyed state recognition.⁷⁹ But the comic poets continued to assail the new cults with the weapon of ridicule. Aristophanes wrote a whole play about them, the *Horae*, in which, according to Cicero (*de legibus*, II. 37), “Sabazius and certain other foreign gods” were put on trial and sentenced to banishment from Athens. Apol-

story as “a romantic fiction” (Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 221). Cf. J. Hatzfeld, *R. E. G.*, 50 (1937), 293; F. R. Walton, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 31 (1938), 65 ff.

⁷⁶ Ar., *Lysist.*, 387–97. Sabazius is first mentioned in the *Wasps* (422 B.C.) v. 9 f.; the *Adonia* in Cratinus fragm. 15 Kock and Ar., *Peace* 420 (though *Adonis* as a mythological figure appears already in Hesiod, fragm. 32 Rzach).

⁷⁷ Julian, *Orat.*, V. 159AB; Schol. in Ar. *Plut.* 431; Suidas and Photius s. v. *μητραγύρτης*. For the women's part cf. Strabo, VII. 3. 4, p. 297 *ἅπαντες τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀρχηγὸς οἶονται τὰς γυναῖκας· αὐταὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας προκαλοῦνται πρὸς τὰς ἐπὶ πλεόνθεραπείας τῶν θεῶν*.

⁷⁸ Ar., *Aves*, 875 (414 B.C.); Soph., *Phil.*, 391 ff. (409 B.C.). On the relationship of the Greek to the Asiatic “Mother” and of both to the Minoan see Farnell, *Cults*, III, chap. vi. Cybele's associate Attis is first mentioned by the comic poet Theopompus, fr. 27 Kock, probably in the last years of the fifth century (Geissler, *Chronologie der Alt-Att. Kom.*, 67).

⁷⁹ I. G., I², 310, 208 (429/8). In Athenian literature she is first mentioned by Cratinus, fr. 80 Kock.

lophanes satirized the θεοὶ ξενικοί in his Cretans; Eupolis in the *Βάπται* attacked the Thracian rites of Cotytto; Plato the comic poet turned Adonis into the hero of a farce. That means widespread popular interest:⁸⁰ neither men nor gods are worth satirizing until they have made themselves fairly notorious. Strabo saw the importance of the evidence from comedy. "The Athenians," he says (x. 3. 18), "have always been as hospitable to gods as they are to men. They admitted so many foreign cults, especially Thracian and Phrygian ones, that it became a stage joke."

It seems not to have occurred to modern commentators that the Bacchae may stand in some relation to this movement, and especially to one figure in it — that of Sabazius or Sabos.⁸¹ Yet the coming of Sabazius was in essentials a re-enactment in modern dress of the theme of the Bacchae; it was the coming of Dionysus over again. For Sabazius is either one of the names by which Dionysus was known in his original home, in the mountains of Phrygia and of Thrace,⁸² or more probably a parallel divine figure with closely similar attributes and functions. His name looks like an adjectival cult epithet derived from the ritual cry *Σαβοῶ*, as *Εὔιος* from the ritual cry *εὐοῶ*.⁸³ In his own mountains he was the supreme god, and therefore Greek settlers and Hellenized natives equated him with Zeus.⁸⁴ But the more learned guessed that he was Dionysus.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ An increase of popular interest in orgiastic scenes appears to be attested also by the vase painting of the period. Lawler, l. c., p. 84, notes that representations of dances of an ecstatic kind are commonest between 440 and 400 B.C. Towards the end of the century the maenad with tympanum begins to be a favorite type, perhaps under the influence of the cult of Cybele (Rapp, *Rh. Mus.*, 27. 571, cf. *Bacch.*, 130 ff.). See also Webster, *Greek Art and Literature 530-400 B.C.*, p. 174, and Furtwängler on *Collection Sabouroff*, pl. 55.

⁸¹ The shorter form, which is perhaps the more primitive, is preserved by Hesychius and Photius s. v. and *H. Orph.*, xlix. 2.

⁸² Sabazius Phrygian, *Ar. fragm.* 566; *Aves*, 874 and *Schol.*; Strabo, X. 3. 18 (470); Hesych., s. v. Thracian: *Schol. in Ar., Vesp.*, 9; *Alex. Polyhistor apud Macrobi.*, I. 18. 11.

⁸³ Cf. *Schol. in Ar., Aves*, 874; *Perdrizet, Cultes et Mythes*, 79.

⁸⁴ E.g. *In. Perg.* i. 248; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1877, 308 (Philadelphia). Jupiter Sabazius often in Roman inscriptions.

⁸⁵ *Plut.*, *Q. Conv.*, 4. 6. 2; Photius s. v. *Σαβοῶ*; *Schol. Ar., Lys.*, 388, *Av.*, 874, *Vesp.*, 9; *Macrobius*, l. c.

He is an unhellenized Dionysus, remote enough from the civilized god of the Attic official cult, but much closer to the god of Thebes. Like his Theban counterpart, he offered his initiates identification with deity; they became *σάβουι*,⁸⁶ as the initiates of Bacchus became *βάκχοι* and those of Cybele or *Κυβήβη* became *κύβηβουι*.⁸⁷ Like the Theban god, he has his nocturnal rites and ecstatic dances to the music of flute and kettledrum;⁸⁸ like him, he has bestial vehicles — the snake, the bull, perhaps the fawn.⁸⁹ And like his legendary predecessor, he provoked in the respectable a contempt and hatred not unmixed with fear. The fourth century testifies very clearly to this. Demosthenes has no more effective means of blackening Aeschines' character than to describe in detail his connection with the ritual of Sabazius;⁹⁰ and the odium attaching to the Thracophrygian cults played its part in more than one unsavory cause célèbre.⁹¹ Plato clearly thought that the whole movement was fraught with serious moral danger: he wished to put a stop to it by imposing severe penalties on anyone who should be found *ὀργιάζων πλὴν τὰ δημόσια*, and by systematic encouragement of delation.⁹²

I am not suggesting that the coming of Dionysus in the Bacchae is an allegory of the coming of Sabazius to Athens. But it seems to me that an Athenian audience could hardly watch a performance of the Bacchae without being reminded of this contemporary problem. For example, Pentheus' suspicions about the celebration of women's rites under cover of darkness are precisely the same with which Aristophanes had

⁸⁶ Plut. and Photius l. c., Schol. Ar., Av., 874.

⁸⁷ Phot., s. v. *κύβηβος*.

⁸⁸ Dem., de cor., 259; Ar. fragm. 566, Lysist., 388; Iamb., de myst., III. 9.

⁸⁹ Snake, Dem. l. c.; Theophrastus Charact., 16; cf. n. 45. Bull, Diod., IV. 4. 2, cf. Euphorion fr. 14. *νεβριζων*, Dem. l. c.

⁹⁰ de cor., 259–60, de f. leg., 199, 281.

⁹¹ This is clearest in the case of Phryne, who was accused as *κωμάσασαν ἀναιδώς, καίνοῦ θεοῦ εἰσηγήτριαν, θιάσους ἀνδρῶν ἐκθέσμονας καὶ γυναικῶν συναγαγοῦσαν* (Euthias fr. 2 Baiter-Sauppe). Her "new god," Isodaites, was according to Plutarch Dionysus himself under one of his many aliases; certainly he was a deity of Dionysiac type. Moral prejudice against foreign cults probably had something to do also with the condemnation of the two priestesses, Ninus and Theoris. For the evidence see Foucart, *Associations*, 80 ff., 132 ff.

⁹² Laws, X. 910BC.

made cruder play in the *Horae*: Cicero, l. c., singles out the “nocturnas pervigilationes” as the special object of the comic poet’s attack. And the charge of being a γόης ἐπωδός (*Bacch.*, 234) was also, as Tierney has pointed out, a current taunt against propagators of mystery cults.⁹³ Moreover, just as in the *Helena* (1301 ff.), Euripides transforms the Greek Demeter into an Asiatic “Mountain Mother,” so in the *Bacchae* he seems to give the Theban Dionysus traits borrowed from his oriental counterpart. Thus he associates or identifies his rites with those of Cybele (78 f., cf. *Hel.*, 1364 f.). In Greece they had, so far as we know, no such intimate association; but Sabazius continued to be, what no doubt in his native East Dionysus had once been, “in a way the Son of the Mother”⁹⁴ — and it is as the Son of the Mother that Euripides presents Dionysus in a fragment of the *Palamedes* (415 B.C.).⁹⁵ Again, when at v. 902 the Chorus sings

εὐδαίμων μὲν ὃς ἐκ θαλάσσας
ἔφυγε χεῖμα, λιμένα δ’ ἔκικεν,

are they not embroidering on the mystic formula of the Sabazius cult at Athens, ἔφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἄμεινον (*de cor.*, 259)? It is odd, also, that the “purifications,” the fawnskins, the tame snakes, and (most strikingly) the cult title ἑξαρχος, all of which occur in the πάροδος of the *Bacchae*, all appear again in Demosthenes’ account of the τελεταί of Sabazius.⁹⁶ It is possible, I suppose, that Demosthenes had the *Bacchae* vaguely in mind when he wrote the passage; if he had, he must have made the mental connection between the play and the contemporary cult for which I have been arguing; if he had not, then he is an independent witness to the close similarity of the two.

⁹³ Cf. Plato, *Rep.*, 364BC., Eur., *Hipp.*, 1038.

⁹⁴ Strabo, X. iii. 15. Cf. *ibid.*, 18 ταῦτα γάρ ἐστι σαβάξια καὶ μητρῶα, of the rites described in the *de corona*.

⁹⁵ *Fragm.* 586, Διονύσου . . . ὃς ἀν’ Ἰδαν τέρπεται σὺν μητρὶ φίλᾳ τυμπάνων ἐπ’ ἰαχαῖς. This must be the Idaean Mother — what would the Theban princess Semele be doing on Ida?

⁹⁶ We might add the ivy, if the reading *κιττοφόρος* is right in *de cor.*, 260; and the τύμπανα appear *ibid.*, 284. For Sabazius as a god of purifications cf. also *Iamb.*, *de myst.*, III. 10 ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Σαβαζίου εἰς βακχείας καὶ ἀποκαθάρσεις ψυχῶν . . . οἰκείωται παρεσκεύασται.

Much of this is of course speculation, not certainty or near certainty; anyone who talks about certainties in this field forgets the enormous gaps in our evidence. But the suggestion I have been making is at least a possible — I think I would say, a probable — alternative to the “Macedonian hypothesis.” Or rather, a probable supplement to it. For even if Euripides had Athens in mind rather than Macedonia when he planned the *Bacchae*, even if Macedonia had nothing to teach him about orgiastic religion, it remains a likely guess that the escape from the dusty thought-laden atmosphere of Athens, and the renewal of contact with nature in the wild country about the skirts of Olympus, released some spring in the old poet’s mind. Viewed in retrospect from a valley in Pieria, the cleverness of the Athenian intellectuals looked smaller and less clever than it did before; and Euripides seems to have felt something which most people have felt at some time in their lives — the profound sense of identity with the common man, the *φαιλότερον πλῆθος*.⁹⁷ The choruses of the *Bacchae* do not present entirely new thoughts and feelings; but they bring old thoughts and feelings into intenser focus, so that the words seem to glow with a new passion. As James Adam expressed it, “The greater part of the play is pervaded by the kind of joyous exaltation which accompanies a new discovery or illumination”; it has “an added dimension of emotion.”⁹⁸ For the release of this emotion we may hold Macedonia accountable; and the old miracle story provided the focus. Euripides had recovered in old age that power of Dionysiac experience which the oldest dramatic poets possessed,⁹⁹ and in doing so he had found an outlet for feelings that for years had been pressing on his consciousness without attaining to complete expression.¹⁰⁰ As for the “meaning” or “moral” of the play, this is not the place to discuss it. I hope shortly to do so elsewhere.

⁹⁷ V. 430 ff. Cf. Murray, *Essays and Addresses*, 84 f., E. and his Age, 194 f.; F. Waser, *Die Bakchantinnen des E.*, N. Jbb. f. Wiss. u. Jugendbildung, 5 (1929), 272.

⁹⁸ *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, 316 f.

⁹⁹ Cf. W. Kranz, *Stasimon*, 235.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. the much quoted remark of Wilamowitz that in the *Bacchae* Eur. tried to rid himself of the spirits which tormented him by giving them bodily shape (Heracles, I. 379 n.).

THE QUARTODECIMANS AND THE SYNOPTIC CHRONOLOGY

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I

THERE is hardly a point in the whole Quartodeciman question that has not, at one time or another, been vigorously contested. Since the days when the Tübingen school interpreted the struggle to support their separation of the Fourth Gospel from the Johannine Tradition,¹ there has grown up a veritable library of controversial literature on the subject.² Perhaps the most

¹ See especially Hilgenfeld, *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche* (1860).

² For surveys of the earlier literature I may refer the reader to Schürer's *De Controversiis Paschalibus*, 1869, which with some emendations, was published in German in *Zeitschr. für d. hist. Theol.*, 1870, pp. 182-184; to Stanton's *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, pt. I, 1903, pp. 173-176; and to Carl Schmidt's *Die Passahfeier in der kleinasiatischen Kirche* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. XLIII, 1919, Excursus III, pp. 577-578).

It is not necessary here to classify all the diverse views of scholars on the Paschal Question. Suffice it to say that the main issue which will concern us is the significance that the Asiatics attached to Nisan 14. Was it the date of the Passion or of the Last Supper? The former thesis was vigorously upheld by Weitzel in his *Die christliche Passahfeier der dreiersten Jahrhunderte*, 1848, and in his essay in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1848, No. 4. He was followed by Hefele, *History of the Christian Councils*, vol. I, 1894, pp. 80-83, and 298-341 (the later treatment in the French edition, *Histoire des Conciles*, vol. I, pt. I, 1907, pp. 133-151; 450-488, is fuller, and on this basic point Hefele changed his mind, p. 146); by Kidd, *History of the Church to 461*, vol. I, 1922, pp. 355-357; 376-378; and by Schmidt, *op. cit.* The latter contention was defended by the Tübingen school and is best studied in Hilgenfeld's *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche*, 1860. The distinctive value of Schürer's work, which still seems to me one of the best treatments of the subject, lies in the fact that he urged the same thesis without the Tübingen bias. He was followed by Luthardt, *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, English translation, 1897, pp. 154-165, and by Stanton, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-197. The main point these authors stressed was that the Quartodeciman observance celebrated the Divine Redemption typified by the ancient Passover, which the Lord had eaten on the night before the Passion.

More recently there have appeared a number of important articles that may be mentioned:

Hugo Koch, *Pascha in der ältesten Kirche*, in *Zeitschr. für wiss. Theol.*, vol. LV, 1914, pp. 289-313; Peter Corssen, *Das Osterfest*, in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Altertum*, vol. XXXIX, 1917, pp. 170-189; F. E. Brightman, *The Quartodeciman*

judicious statement of the problem in English appeared in Stanton's *The Gospels as Historical Documents* (Part I, pp. 173-197), which was dependent upon Schürer's *De Controversiis Paschalibus* (1869). Since that time, however, the question has been re-opened by Schmidt's learned *Excursus* appended to his text of the *Epistola Apostolorum*.³ Dating this work in the 60's of the second century, he claimed that in Chapter 15 there was a reference to the Paschal controversy that confirmed his view. Furthermore, he contended that this section of the *Epistola* had once for all settled a number of uncertain problems. Chief among these was the significance attached by the Asiatic Church to the 14th of Nisan. Schmidt concluded from the words, "But do ye commemorate my death," that on this day the Easterners celebrated the Passion. Henceforth it would be impossible to claim that the Quartodeciman rite implied a Christian "Passover" which commemorated the Last Supper and the institution of the Eucharist (pp. 600-601). Indeed, he went so far as to urge that the whole Asiatic practice was centered in the Passion to the exclusion of the Resurrection. Contrasting the Quartodeciman with the Catholic custom he wrote, "*Dort Passah, hier Ostern!*" (p. 579).

In Schmidt's view, then, the following points were regarded as established:

- (a) The Quartodeciman observance of Nisan 14th celebrated the Passion.
- (b) This was in harmony with the Johannine chronology.
- (c) Only one day, the 14th, was kept. The Asiatics fasted till the hour of death of Jesus (p. 698), and later assembled for a vigil which terminated at cockcrow (p. 700; 3 A.M. the next day). This moment signified the end of the Passion festival, which they concluded with a Eucharist and Agape (pp. 700-704).

Many of the difficulties in Schmidt's thesis were pointed out by Brightman, in a lucid and convincing article in the *J. T. S.* (*The Quartodeciman Question*, 1924, vol. XXV, pp. 254-270). By a careful examination of the passage in Eusebius (H. E.

Question, in *J. T. S.*, 1924, vol. XXV, pp. 254-270; and Karl Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, vol. II, 1928, pp. 204-224, on a fragment from Epiphanius.

³ In *Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. XXXIII, 1919, pp. 577-725.

5. 23. 1-2), he showed that the Quartodeciman 14th corresponded to the Catholic Easter Sunday. This was certainly the sense in which Theodoret understood it (Haer. fab. 3).⁴ What was celebrated in both observances was *Easter*, the Passion and Resurrection being inseparably connected. Even in the West the Passion was not exclusively united with Good Friday, because from Irenaeus (Euseb. H. E. 5. 24. 12) we know that some Catholics only fasted for *one* day before Easter Sunday. Hence the assumption that the celebration of Good Friday was a regular feature of the Western practice is more than doubtful. Finally, Brightman urged that Schmidt's thesis involved the assumption of a vigil which concluded a festival. "This would mean a very curious day." For the vigil is "always the beginning, not the end, of a day or a period" (p. 265). He contended, therefore, that the importance of the passage in the *Epistola Apostolorum* lay in its early witness to the Paschal Vigil in Asia (p. 257). Hitherto, our first knowledge of it was derived from Tertullian (de Uxore, 2. 4).

One point, however, remained unsolved. The *Epistola* apparently placed the vigil on Passover evening (Nisan 14-15), whereas, on Brightman's theory, it should fall on the night of 13-14. Nonetheless, I do not think this constitutes a major difficulty. The dating, both in the *Epistola* and in the incident in Acts 12 to which it evidently refers, is sufficiently vague to allow either possibility. The main evidence, moreover, is decidedly in favor of Brightman's claim. For had the Asiatic vigil fallen on the Passover night, they would have been hallowing the 15th and not the 14th.

In the light of Brightman's thesis I want to raise a very time-worn problem — that of the Synoptic and the Johannine chronology. As far as the Quartodeciman controversy is concerned, I do not think that the last word has been said on it. It is my contention that, if *Easter* was celebrated by the Asiatics on Nisan 14, then the date was determined by the belief that the

⁴ Brightman's theory is, of course, in conflict with Epiphanius and Socrates, whose accounts it would seem are due to a misunderstanding of Eusebius (p. 263). Certainly one is not disposed to trust Epiphanius at every point, since his grasp of any subject is seldom lucid, and his obscurity and confusion reach a pitch when he deals with the Quartodecimans and the Audians.

Lord had instituted the rite to commemorate Christian Redemption *on that day*.

The general line of my thesis is indeed as old as Bretschneider and F. C. Baur, but much of the Tübingen writing was vitiated by their primary contention about the Fourth Gospel. To attempt to dissociate this from the Johannine tradition of Asia Minor is certainly futile.⁵ Nonetheless, that the Synoptic chronology lies behind the Quartodeciman defense is the most obvious explanation of the extant fragments.

Endless problems beset the rival interpretation, that East and West were united in the belief that the Crucifixion had occurred on Nisan 14. Each fragment preserved in the Chronicon Paschale⁶ has to be explained away by the assumption of different hypothetical opponents, whom Clement, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, and Hippolytus are attacking. Moreover, there is no unanimity on this issue. Clement is sometimes treated as a Quartodeciman attacking Judaizers,⁷ although Eusebius distinctly says that Alexandria followed the Western practice. Sometimes he is defending the Catholic usage against the opponents of Apollinaris.⁸ But who are these shadowy *φιλονεικούντες*? Weitzel, followed by Hefele, imagines they are Ebionite Quartodecimans, though how Apollinaris, an orthodox Asiatic, could treat Judaizers with such lenience (*ἄγνοια γὰρ οὐ κατηγορίαν ἀναδέχεται, ἀλλὰ διδαχῆς προσδεῖται*) is difficult to comprehend. Moreover, why Ebionites, who only recognized the Gospel of Matthew (Iren. 1. 26. 2), should have been troubled over discrepancies in the Evangelists (a charge which Apollinaris presses) is equally hard to explain. To meet this objection

⁵ The very "John" to whom Polycrates refers (H. E. 5. 24. 3) is characterized by a phrase from the Fourth Gospel. He is *ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναπεσών*.

⁶ Ed. Dindorf, in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 1832, vol. 1, pp. 12-15.

⁷ I.e., Ebionite Quartodecimans (Hefele, *History of the Christian Councils*, 1894, vol. I, p. 312). Kidd (*History of the Church to 461*, vol. I, 1922, pp. 355 ff., 376 ff.) follows Hefele's view. Clement's treatise thus supplemented, and did not attack, the Quartodeciman pamphlet of Melito. Eusebius is not clear on the relation of these two works. He merely says that Melito's occasioned Clement's (H. E. 4. 26. 4). Melito is cited as a Quartodeciman by Polycrates (H. E. 5. 24. 5). One may add that in the later French edition, *Histoire des Conciles*, vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 135 and 139, Hefele changed his mind on this whole question.

⁸ Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 630.

William Milligan⁹ proposed a fictitious party of "Quintodecimans" who wanted to observe Nisan 15. They were in sympathy with the Quartodeciman contention that Easter should follow on the exact lunar date of the Passion, but, following the Synoptic chronology, they argued for a different date. Schmidt suggests they were Alogi¹⁰ who, putting their chronology to practical use, wanted to change the significance of the celebration on Nisan 14th. Gwatkin put forward a not dissimilar view.¹¹

Since the days of Weitzel it has been claimed that the two fragments of Hippolytus are directed against the followers of Blastus, who, according to Ps. Tert. VIII added the observance of the Passover to his Judaizing practices. Nonetheless, treating of the Ebionites in the *Refutatio* (7. 34), Hippolytus is peculiarly reticent about Blastus; and he certainly regards the Quartodecimans as orthodox Christians, though somewhat contentious and ignorant (Ref. 8. 18).

To such a length has gone this effort to explain away the unfortunate fragments in the *Chronicon Paschale*, that it is customary now to dissociate the Laodicean strife of the 60's from the main Quartodeciman controversy.¹² But exactly what the *ζήτησις πολλή* of Melito's day (H. E. 4. 26. 3) was about, is given up as a riddle too hard to guess.¹³

Now, I submit that all this is unnecessarily bewildering. The plain fact of the matter is that during the critical years of the Paschal Question, from the days of Apollinaris to those of Hippolytus, chronology was a central theme in the controversy. It may be readily granted that the source of our fragments accounts to some extent for this peculiar emphasis. The author of the *Chronicon Paschale* is only interested in citing early testimonies to support his thesis that Christ died on Nisan 14th. But the fact that he adduces these witnesses from writings that

⁹ See his article on The Easter Controversies of the Second Century in *The Contemporary Review*, vol. VI, Sept.-Dec. 1867, pp. 101-118.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

¹¹ *Early Church History to 431, 1912*, vol. I, p. 264.

¹² So Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 625.

¹³ E.g., Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, English ed., 1909, vol. I, p. 209.

deliberately deal with the Paschal Question well indicates the significance that chronology played in the debate.

If we assume for the purposes of argument that the Synoptic chronology lay behind the Quartodeciman practice, the explanation of our sources becomes relatively simple. The fragments of Clement, Apollinaris and Hippolytus, all of which bear a marked similarity, are directed against the Asiatic practice. This is treated with moderate leniency, as the result of contention and ignorance (so Apollinaris and Hippolytus Ref. 8. 18). There is no question of Judaizing, or indeed of heresy at all. To this Apollinaris, Hippolytus (Ref. 18. 8) and Epiphanius (Haer. 50. 1) clearly witness. The Quartodecimans are in need of instruction, not accusation (Apollinaris). And the main points in which they are in error are twofold. They cling to the Synoptic chronology, and they defend their practice by citing a curse from the Law: Ἐπικατάρατος ὃς οὐ ποιήσῃ τὸ πάσχα τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνός (Epiph. Haer. 50. 1; cf. Hippolytus, Ref. 8. 18).

Now, what kind of a case does this presuppose that the Asiatics made for their observance? It seems to me clear and coherent. They said: Easter must be celebrated on the very day on which the Lord had instituted the rite to commemorate His death. On the 14th He had taken the cup and said, "Do this in remembrance of me." On the 14th He had celebrated the old Πάσχα and therewith the first Christian Easter. For then it was that He gave the New Covenant, which was later ratified in His death and resurrection, and which would reach its consummation in the Advent. The Christian Easter thus comprehended three *momenta* — Passion, Resurrection and Advent. What more fitting occasion could have been found for the annual festival of this whole Christian economy than that on which the rite of its commemoration had been instituted and celebrated by the Lord Himself?

Indeed, the date of the Last Supper is really the only one that makes sense of the Quartodeciman practice. It seems to me that if Brightman's contention is correct (and I must refer the reader to his article for the details of his case) the date of the Passion would have been a very unlikely day to have been

chosen for the Easter Festival. The dawn Eucharist would have actually preceded the Passion, and the whole chronology been hopelessly confused. But if Nisan 14 was understood as the date of the Last Supper, the annual observance would have about it the same timeless quality as the Institution itself. It could as well precede the actual dates of the Passion and Resurrection, as it did on the occasion of the first Christian Πάσχα.

This throws light upon one of the most contested points in the whole debate. If Nisan 14 marks the date of the Passion, when did the Asiatics celebrate the Resurrection? Despite the fact that none of the records explicitly mention a *second* festival, conjecture has been rife. Weitzel (pp. 103 ff.), followed by Schmidt (p. 705), says on the following Sunday. Hefele claims on the third day after the 14th, on whatever day of the week it fell (English ed., p. 301). Duchesne gives the problem up as insoluble (p. 209). Brightman, as we have seen, claims that the celebration of the 14th implied the Resurrection, and this is certainly the clear meaning of the apodosis of Eusebius's momentous sentence (H. E. 5. 23. 1-2). Now, although we may grant that the Passion and Resurrection were inseparable in the minds of the early Christians, the choice of the *day* of the Passion to celebrate the whole economy of the Passion and Resurrection is a little bewildering. Surely they would have waited, as did the Catholics, till the day of the Resurrection. But if Nisan 14 was believed to be the date of the institution of the first Christian Easter by our Lord Himself, there is no difficulty. Passion, Resurrection and even Advent are all comprehended in that one commemoration.

This leads to the solution of a second important question. Why did the Quartodecimans cite the tag from the Law to support their position? It certainly is a curious defense, if Nisan 14 meant to them the date of the Crucifixion, and their rite merely signified the commemoration of this event. For, had that been the case, they would have simply replied, "We celebrate the Passion on the *date* of the Passion." Their whole position would have been self-evident. There would have been no need to cite the Law. But if, on the other hand, Nisan 14

meant the celebration of the first Christian *Pasch*, when the New Covenant had superseded the Old, the citation from the Law is very apt, indeed, it is almost necessary. There was no direct commandment of the Lord that Nisan 14 should be celebrated. Whence could they derive an authority? From the Law, where the date of the *Pasch* was fixed. Hence, perhaps with controversialist ingenuity, they *invented* such a curse. Certainly the imprecation is not to be found word for word in the LXX (cf. Deut. 27. 26; Numb. 9. 13; Exod. 12. 15). Thus the 14th linked the old *Pasch* with the new, and celebrated the Redemption of the New Israel, as the old Passover had celebrated the Exodus. Moreover, like the old Passover, the new feast looked toward the final redemption in the future. Thus, the Easter Eucharist was *the Eucharist par excellence*, comprehending Passion, Resurrection and Advent.

Finally, this reconstruction accounts for the important rôle that chronology played in the Paschal Question of the second century. If the Westerners could prove that Christ had died on the 14th Nisan, then the whole Quartodeciman case would be undermined. The main Asiatic claim that Easter should be celebrated on the 14th because the Lord had then instituted the rite to commemorate His death, and indeed the first Christian *Pasch*, would become untenable. Hence the Johannine chronology would prove to be the most effective of all the Western arguments. Thus it is that Clement, Apollinaris and Hippolytus all attack the thesis that Jesus ate the Passover before He suffered. Moreover, they press the point that the Passion is the genuine Passover, and Christ, to fulfil the type of the Paschal Lamb, must have died on the 14th. Against the Quartodecimans they charged that their interpretation was at variance with the Law and implied discrepancies in the Gospels. The Asiatics promptly returned both counts. They claimed that they were more in harmony with the Law than the West, because they observed the legal 14th, and so far as the Gospels were concerned, Matthew clearly indicated that Christ ate the Passover. How they dealt with John's chronology we do not know; but I would venture the suggestion that in the Johannine Tradition his Passion narrative was not taken literally.

It was recognized that there was a superficial discrepancy, but it was claimed that John was writing theology, not history.¹⁴

II

There are one or two difficulties of detail in the fragments, which may now engage our attention. It has sometimes been contended that Apollinaris of Hierapolis can hardly have been defending the Western practice against the general custom of the Asiatic Church. Here the argument *ex silentio* has played a very important rôle. For it is claimed that Eusebius, or some later Father, would certainly have mentioned the fact, if such a distinguished theologian (H. E. 4. 26. 1; 4. 27. 5; 5. 18-19) had been an early protagonist for the Catholic view. Moreover, it is urged particularly by Weitzel that Apollinaris would scarcely have referred to the whole Asiatic Church under the terms, εἰς τὸίνυν οὐ -- φιλονεικοῦσι. Is he here not obviously combatting a small sect or party, rather than a whole Church? Finally, the fact that the opponents of Apollinaris rested their case upon the Gospel of Matthew, whereas the Quartodecimans appealed to the Johannine Tradition (Polycrates, apud Euseb.

¹⁴ As far as the West is concerned, the harmony of the Gospels on the Johannine chronology was supported by two arguments. Hippolytus claimed that the logion οὐκέτι φάγομαι τὸ πάσχα meant that Christ only had an ordinary supper before the Passion. Clement, on the other hand, cited the fact that the priests did not enter the Praetorium, from fear of defilement (John 18. 28). By this he showed that the Jews ate the Passover on the following evening, after the Crucifixion. Moreover, he defended the agreement of the Gospels by claiming that on the 13th Christ "taught the disciples the mystery of the type (of the Passover)." The Last Supper was thus only a mystical anticipation of the true Passover-Passion of the next day. Such is the typical exegesis of the distinguished Alexandrine, who always had a happy facility for explaining away difficulties. In a later period the discrepancy was explained by the assumption that Christ ate the Passover at the legal time, but that the Jews deferred it to the 15th to accomplish His death (so Eusebius, De Solemnitate Paschali, 12. P. G. 24, col. 705).

The endless difficulties of the Passion chronology, and the amazing conjectures no less ingenious than involved, that the Church brought forward to meet them, are well reflected in the fragment from Epiphanius edited by Holl in his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur K. G.*, vol. II, pp. 204 ff. There Epiphanius claims the Jews celebrated the Passover two days in advance of the proper date — on Tuesday instead of Thursday. This accounts for the fact that Jesus ate the Passover before He suffered. But this was not their only error. In Haer. 51. 26 Epiphanius claims that even Thursday was not the correct date. The 14th really fell on the Friday, if it was rightly reckoned.

H. E. 5. 24. 3), is taken as further evidence that they represent different parties.

In reply to the first objection it may be said that the argument from silence is a two-edged sword. For the omission of the name of Apollinaris from the letter of Polycrates is really a much more remarkable fact (H. E. 5. 24. 1-8). Eusebius's account of the whole controversy is very scanty — it is, for instance, only incidentally that we learn Melito was a Quartodeciman (H. E. 5. 24. 5, letter of Polycrates; no mention in 4. 26). Moreover, the other references to Apollinaris in the Fathers are largely dependent upon Eusebius (e.g. Jerome, *De Vir.* Ill. 26) or else deal with theological issues other than the Paschal Question (e.g. Photius, *Codex* 14; Soc., H. E. 3. 7; Jerome, *op. cit.*, 18). But in the case of Polycrates the matter is entirely different. He is deliberately citing famous names to support the Quartodeciman tradition. And although they all rank among the faithful departed, it can hardly be urged that Apollinaris was then living. He probably died about the same time as Melito (see McGiffert's note to Eusebius H. E. 4. 27. P. N. F., vol. I, p. 205, n. 1). The omission of such a renowned bishop is indeed hard to account for, unless he had abandoned the Quartodeciman practice. I would submit that after the martyrdom of the Quartodeciman bishop Sagaris (H. E. 4. 26. 3; 5. 23. 5) someone tried to introduce the Western practice in Laodicea, thus provoking Melito's pamphlet (H. E. 4. 26. 3). The proximity of Laodicea to Hierapolis is noteworthy, and we may assume that Apollinaris had at some time been won over to the Western view.

The second objection, that Apollinaris is contending against a sect and not a Church, has perhaps been given undue weight. We do not know exactly what preceded our fragment and its brevity cautions us against such a minute exegesis of its opening words. The vagueness of the expression has a parallel in Eusebius (H. E. 3. 3. 5), where he refers to the fact that "some (*τινες*) reject the Epistle to the Hebrews," including in this *τινες* the whole Church in Rome.

Lastly, that the opponents of Apollinaris appealed to the Gospel of Matthew, is far from decisive evidence that they

were not Quartodecimans. If our main contention is correct, their recourse to Matthew, the favorite Gospel of the early Church, is quite intelligible, seeing that their choice of the 14th Nisan was based on the Synoptic chronology.

There are one or two other points that may be mentioned here while we are dealing with the fragments. Does the stress that the adversaries of Apollinaris laid upon Christ's eating τὸ πρόβατον and that the opponents of Hippolytus put upon the celebration of the Passover "ὃν τρόπον ὁ Κύριος ἐποίησεν," suggest that these Christians continued the observance of the Jewish Passover on the evening of the 14th (Jewish reckoning, 15th)? This, I think, is by no means a necessary inference. All that is implied is that Christ ate the Passover on the 14th, and thus Christians are bound to hold their Easter on this date. For the Last Supper was the first Christian Easter, and the continuity of the old rite and the New Covenant was connected with that date. Certainly, after the fall of the Temple, not even the Jews could continue to eat the Paschal lamb. The reference is merely adduced to confirm the general chronological argument.

But why, it will be asked, did the Quartodecimans not hold their Easter Eucharist in the night, if they wished to link it to the rite of the Passover? Here, I should take it, the universal custom of morning Eucharists after a vigil was determinative. Whatever may have been the reasons that led to the changing of the time of the Agape from the evening to the morning (and the consequent separation of Agape and Eucharist) need not detain us now. But from the days of Trajan this seems increasingly to have been the regular practice. Hence, to preserve the date of Nisan 14, the Easter Eucharist (which, if it really goes back as far as Polycrates imagined, was originally in the evening) was transferred to the morning.

One last point may be mentioned. In arguing that Apollinaris represents the Quartodeciman practice, it has often been claimed that his emphasis on the 14th betrays the Asiatic point of view. To this I should reply that the same stress is evident in Clement of Alexandria. Schmidt (p. 630) admits

that the mention of the Resurrection on Nisan 16th reflects Clement's adherence to the Western practice. The obvious similarity in all these fragments suggests that Apollinaris held the same point of view. In any case, Nisan 14 was an equally important date for the West as for the East, for it was the basis on which the Sunday of Easter was calculated. It is by no means clear exactly how the proximity of the Sunday to the 14th was regulated,¹⁵ but that it was determinative is self-evident. Moreover, if my thesis is correct, Nisan 14 had an added significance for the Western case. For they could undermine the whole Quartodeciman claim, if they could establish that it was the date of the Passion and not of the Last Supper.

Finally, I should like to point out that the passage in *Epistola Apostolorum* (15) nowhere conflicts with my general reconstruction. The opening words, "But do ye commemorate my death," while they lay emphasis upon the Passion as a central *motif* of the Easter celebration, do not necessarily exclude the Resurrection (Brightman, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-269). Furthermore, they do not of themselves imply that Nisan 14th signified to the author the date of the Crucifixion. The following sentences on "drinking the Passover" clearly reflect the Synoptic account of the Last Supper, and the commemoration of the death is thus connected with the Eucharist. The passage is by no means so conclusive for Schmidt's view as he imagines, and is at least open to the interpretation that the commemoration of the death is linked to the date when the Lord instituted the rite of its remembrance. Furthermore, the text is entirely silent

¹⁵ The practice of the early British Church may possibly be a guide in this connection. Their calculations for Easter were certainly derived from the West, and in the fifth century they retained not only an obscurantist cycle, but also an ancient method of relating the days of the week to the Paschal Moon. Easter Sunday could fall "a quarta decima usque ad vicissimam lunam" (Bede, *H. E.* 2. 4). Thus Easter Sunday was celebrated on or after Nisan 14. This, as Bede remarks (2. 19), was contrary to the Nicene ordinance. Whether this really represents the ancient Roman method of calculation is indeed open to doubt. In the later strife with Alexandria, Rome insisted that Nisan 16 was the first possible date for Easter Sunday. Holl (*op. cit.*, II, p. 218) suggests, by referring to Hippolytus, that this may have been due to an emphasis upon the 14th as Good Friday. Brightman, however, has well shown (*op. cit.*, p. 257), that Good Friday was a far later development that we are accustomed to assume.

about any preceding fast *during the hours of the Passion*. This part of Schmidt's case is pure conjecture.¹⁶ All that the *Epistola* tells us is that Easter was celebrated by a night vigil and a Eucharist (Agape) at cockcrow. That, however, a fast of uncertain length preceded the Asiatic, as well as the Western, Easter, is implied by Eusebius (H. E. 5. 23. 1-2) and by Irenaeus (apud Euseb. H. E. 5. 24. 12).

III

The wider implications of this thesis cannot detain us here, but there are one or two points that may be raised.

Firstly, the theology of the Lamb of God, which is clear in other fragments of Melito (Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* I, pp. 122-124), does not necessarily imply the so-called Johannine chronology. It was a commonplace of early Christian thought, derived from Is. 53 and 1 Cor. 5. 7. Indeed, Irenaeus has a passage very similar to Melito's in *Adv. Haer.* 4. 5. 4, but he distinctly affirms the Synoptic chronology in 2. 22. 3.

Secondly, the writings of the early fathers seem to reflect the Synoptic chronology. The passage in Irenaeus (2. 22. 3) is the most decisive one¹⁷ and it is of peculiar interest seeing that he was an Asiatic (H. E. 2. 20. 5) and was not won over from his original position, although he became a follower of the Western practice (H. E. 5. 24. 11, probably after his removal to Gaul). Moreover, his statement that our Lord ate the Passover and suffered on the following day comes in a chronological section that is largely dependent upon John.

Lastly, we may draw attention to the fact that an increasingly good case is being made out of the Last Supper as a Pass-

¹⁶ Evidently from Epiphanius, *Haer.* 50. 2.

¹⁷ The other passages are in Justin, *Trypho* 111 (where the arrest of Jesus is dated *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Πάσχα*. That the Passover evening was clearly reckoned as belonging to the Passover day, see Anatolius of Alexandria in Euseb. H. E. 7. 32. 18); in Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 4. 10. 1 and in Tert. *Adv. Jud.* 10. The last two references are excursions into prophecy and cannot be pressed. The important factor in Tertullian's reference is that he thinks that the slaying of the Passover lambs did not coincide with the Passion in point of time. If his phrase *prima die azymorum* is accurately used, the Passion must have followed the Passover meal.

over.¹⁸ If my interpretation of the Quartodeciman controversy is at all correct, this evidence can no longer be cited to support the contention that the Passion occurred on Nisan 14.¹⁹

¹⁸ As well as the earlier work of Billerbeck and Dalman (*Jesus-Jeshua*), I may cite Jeremias's recent treatise, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (1935) and Torrey's article in *J. B. L.*, vol. L, 1931, pp. 227-241.

¹⁹ As, for instance, by Branscomb in his recent *Commentary on Mark* in the Moffatt *Commentary Series*, 1937, p. 252.

BIBLE TEXT OR LITURGY?

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IN VARIOUS mediaeval authors, writing in different localities and at different periods, there are a goodly number of quotations which obviously derive ultimately from a biblical text. These quotations, however, either are not found in exactly the form, in which they are quoted, in MSS. of the Bible, whether of Old Latin or of Vulgate versions, or, if they do occur in MSS., these are of a later date than the earliest author who uses the quotation. Since these quotations do appear in the liturgy of the Church, or in other texts which were used in worship, such as sermons, homilies, Saints' Lives, it is not illogical to suppose that their source is to be found, not in any special type of Bible text, but in the liturgy. As an illustration of this possibility I presented in this Review (XXXI, 1938, 41-51) a study of one of these quotations, the phrase *viam universae carnis ingressurus*, which occurs frequently in documents from the 11th century on. It does not occur in precisely this form in any biblical MS., although the substitution of *carnis* for *terrae* of the early MSS. is found in a MS. of the 13th century,¹ but does occur in at least one liturgical text of the 11th century and in another which dates from the 13th century, if not earlier. The conclusion is certainly justified therefore that authors were indebted to the liturgy for this phrase and that the liturgical form influenced the reading in later biblical MSS.

In the following pages I shall present other examples of this sort of quotation, the history of which is similar to that of "the way of all flesh." There is, however, a larger problem involved, the question whether the liturgy may not be the source, not only of these quotations, but of others, especially of those which preserve Old Latin readings.

¹ My friend, Mr. Bernard Peebles, of Harvard University, to whose helpful criticism I am again deeply indebted, has called my attention to another example in a MS. in the Congressional Library, Ac. 1241. 4 (De Ricci-Wilson, Census, no. 32), saec. xiii, where in Josh. 23, fol. 78 r, the reading is *viam universae carnis terre*, with *carnis* pointed for deletion.

In an attempt to answer this question I have taken as the basis of my investigation a representative prose work of the 12th century, the *De Nugis Curialium* of Walter Map.² Map, who was born about 1140 in the neighborhood of Hereford, played in his time many parts: in the court, a clerk of the royal household and itinerant justice, in the Church, canon and precentor of Lincoln, presbyter of Westbury-upon-Severn, prebendary of Mapesbury, and in 1197, archdeacon of Oxford. About 1154 he became a student at the University of Paris, where he attended the lectures of another Englishman, Girald la Pucelle, but he was in England again by 1162. Thereafter he made several visits to France and one at least to Rome, at the time of the Lateran Council in 1179. His book, which was written "by snatches" over a period of a dozen years (1181-1193), gives ample evidence of wide reading both in pagan and Christian literature. His quotations from the Bible are so numerous that it is evident that biblical language and imagery, biblical modes of thought and expression had become an integral part of his intellectual being. In some cases the quotations are but echoes, a mere word or two, so that it is impossible to assign them to a definite book or to a definite chapter and verse; they are, therefore, of no value as evidence in determining whence or how the words came to him.

The remaining quotations on the other hand are of such a nature that it is possible to refer them to a definite biblical passage as their ultimate source. These quotations may be divided into two groups. In the one are quotations which, if we disregard orthographical peculiarities, agree exactly with the traditional Vulgate Text,^{2a} in vocabulary, in grammatical forms, and

² Edited by M. R. James, *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Ser.*, Pt. XIV, Oxford, 1914. My references are to the page and line of this edition. For details of the life of Map, cf. the Introduction of the translation of the *De Nugis*, by F. Tupper and M. B. Ogle, London, 1924.

^{2a} For the Vulgate text of the Old Testament I use the edition, now in progress of publication by the Benedictines of San Girolamo, Rome, and that of Tischendorf, Leipzig, 1873; for the New Testament the edition of Wordsworth-White, Oxford, 1879 on, as far as that has been completed, otherwise the *Editio Minor* of the same editors, Oxford, 1911. Whenever there are important variants in the various texts, I note this fact.

in word-order. In the other group are quotations which show differences from this text in one or more of these respects.

There are sixty quotations in Map, short phrases or whole sentences, many of which are found also in other Anglo-Latin writers, which show complete agreement with the Vulgate. A few of these Map repeats in the course of his work and the quotation may in one instance differ from the Vulgate, but in another agree with it, or else the two quotations taken together reproduce its readings. Of these sixty quotations there are only two (Prov. 6, 11 and 25, 20) which are not found in the printed editions of the earliest English liturgical books, either in the lessons or in other parts of the service. Map need not of course necessarily have had under control as wide a collection of liturgical material as that represented in *all* our printed editions of these books, but we cannot conclude from the absence of these verses, or of any others, from these books that they did not have a place in earlier or different versions which may have been accessible to Map. The form in which most of these books have come down to us are compilations, made during the 13th century or later, of earlier and more extensive biblical material representing the usage of the Church in Rome, from which chiefly the English Uses derive.³ According to this practically all the canonical books of the Bible were utilized for the lessons which were to be read during the church year and on special days, but, before the 13th century, not only had the lessons been so greatly curtailed that several books of the Bible had ceased to be read during the services, but opportunities for the prescribed biblical lessons had been diminished and for such

³ The directions for the biblical readings in the Church of Rome and other ritual practices are contained in the *Ordines Romani*, published by Mabillon in his *Museum Italicum* II and reprinted in Migne, P. L. 78, 938 ff. A Roman-Benedictine Ordo is reprinted in P. L. 66, 997 from Martene and Durand, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.* V, 103, and an early 9th century version from the manuscript of St. Amand is published by Mgr. L. Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, 2nd English edition, London, 1904, App. 454 ff. For the relation between the lessons in the English Breviaries and those prescribed in the *Ordines*, cf. the Introduction to v. III of *The Hereford Breviary*, ed. W. H. Frere and L. E. G. Brown (Henry Bradshaw Society, XLVI, London, 1915), pp. ix and 146. Convenient discussions of this whole matter are given by Duchesne, pp. 146 ff.; Mgr. B. Battifol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, tr. by A. W. Y. Baylay from the 3rd French ed., London, 1912, pp. 62 ff.

lessons had been substituted readings from Homilies and Saints' Lives.⁴ Thus, although the book of Proverbs was assigned for reading during August, our English books have retained comparatively few chapters; from the four books of Kings, which were read during the season after Pentecost, only parts have been retained as lessons. Evidence of the earlier stages is furnished by the presence of verses from all these books in the lesser readings (*Capitula*) and versicles, which were originally drawn chiefly from the liturgical lessons. Theoretically, therefore, since we do not know what stage of development the service-books used by Map, he must have used some, may have reached, the liturgical lessons are a possible source for all his quotations, even those which no longer appear in the English books as we have them.

In any case agreement of these quotations with the Vulgate can have little evidential value for the determination of their source, since, wherever they appear, whether in mss. of Old Latin versions or of St. Jerome's revision or in the Church Fathers or in later writers of every region or in the liturgy, they appear in a form which agrees with that in the Vulgate. Nevertheless, as an indication at least, that Map and other mediaeval writers who quote these verses may have learned them through a liturgical source rather than from a biblical text in the strict sense of the word, is the fact that many of them are sentences which occur, not only in the lessons, but also in prayers, capitula, chants, and canticles, and would for this reason be more likely to be remembered. This is true indeed, as will be illustrated below, of Map's quotations in general. It may be significant also that such Old Testament books as Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, which the 9th century *Ordines* assign for reading during the period before Lent, but which apparently at an early stage in the development of our English practice had ceased to be utilized for scriptural reading and are not represented in the printed editions of the various Breviaries and Missals, are not

⁴ This began early (cf. Reg. S. Ben. cap. ix) and by the 9th century lessons from the Lives were read in the night office in place of those from the Bible; cf. G. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge*, Heilbroun, 1881, pp. xii-xvii; The Hereford Breviary, ed. cit., III, pp. xxxv ff.

quoted by Map⁵ nor, I may add, by Giraldus Cambrensis, William of Malmesbury, Gervais of Tilbury, Simeon of Durham, Asser, and I think I may include Gildas, since the references he makes to Joshua and Judges are so general in nature that they could have come from a hundred sources. All this may of course be the result of chance and I shall therefore for the present omit from consideration those quotations which appear everywhere, both in Map and in earlier writers, in the form they have in the Vulgate.

Some value moreover, even if of a negative character, is to be attached to the fact that, in the case of the eleven quotations of this group which show a verbal variant in some of the possible sources,⁶ the variant does not occur in English liturgical texts, where the quotation invariably has, as in Map and other mediaeval writers generally, the Vulgate form. For example, the petition in the Lord's Prayer, Matthew 6, 12: *dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos dimittimus*, so appears in Map, p. 43, 15. This is the form also in writers from Tertullian⁷ on, al-

⁵ Map's use of the phrase "the way of all flesh" could hardly have been due to a text of Joshua, since no Bible ms., as far as I can discover, of a period earlier than Map's, contained this phrase in Joshua. It came, as I pointed out in the paper referred to above, from the liturgy.

⁶ They are: IV Kings 4, 34 (Map, p. 39, 15), var. in Hilar. Tr. in Ps. 118, 1; Job 17, 13 (Map, p. 161, 11), var. in August. Adn. in Job, I, 17; Prov. 6, 11 (Map, p. 44, 27), var. in Spec. 86; Prov. 25, 20 (Map, pp. 104, 19 and 106, 1), var. in Cod. Amiatinus and in Greg. in Ezek. I, 9, 32; Mt. 6, 12 (Map, p. 43, 16), var. in mss.; Mt. 18, 7 (Map, p. 145, 18), var. in Old Latin; Mk. 1, 7 (Map, p. 44, 3), var. in some Old Latin and Vulgate mss.; Jn. 11, 43 (Map, p. 39, 28), var. in Sedulius and some Old Latin mss.; Act. 5, 41 (Map, p. 44, 5), var. in Old Latin, cf. text above; I John 4, 18 (Map, p. 63, 16), var. in Old Latin.

⁷ For quotations from the Gospels in Tertullian, cf. J. D. Alders, *Tertullianus' Citaten uit de Evangelien en de oud-Latijnsche Bijbelvertalingen*, Amsterdam, 1932; for those in Augustine, cf. C. H. Milne, *A Reconstruction of the Old-Latin Text or Texts of the Gospels used by St. Augustine*, Cambridge, 1926. For evidence for Old Latin readings I depend upon Sabatier, *Biblorum sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*, Reims, 1749; Vercellone, *Variae Lectiones Vulgatae*, Rome, 1860; Billen, *Old Latin Versions of the Heptateuch*, Cambridge, 1927; H. J. Vogels, *Vulgatastudien* (*Neue Testamentliche Abhandlungen*, Bd. XIV, Heft. 2-3), Münster in W., 1928; Hoskier, *Concerning the Genesis of the Versions of the New Testament*, London, 1910; upon various editions of the Bible and critical studies, and upon my own reading, assisted by the Indices in the Vienna Corpus. References to authors are made, whenever possible, to the editions in this Corpus (C. S. E. L.), otherwise to those in Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (P. L.). Additional references are given in the footnotes.

though Hilary, in Psalms 68, 9, has *remitte*. This *remitte*, and also *remittimus* for *dimittimus*, which are the only important variants aside from the *demitte* of several mss. of Jerome's version, are found in some Vulgate mss. of the Irish Group and in some Old Latin versions. The liturgical books⁸ on the other hand have the sentence, whether it occurs in the Prayer or elsewhere, in the Vulgate form. The one exception I have noted is in the B text of the Antiphony of Bangor, II, 2, which has, *remitte . . . dimittimus*. Cf. e.g. Sac. Gelas. I, 36; Miss. Mozarab. P. L. 85, 119, 557; Missal of Robert of Jumièges, p. 47; Miss. Sarum, p. 224, etc. Again, Acts 5, 41, *digni habiti sunt pro nomine Iesu contumeliam pati*, is so quoted by Map, p. 44, 5. In certain Old Latin versions, however, *Iesu* was apparently omitted, in agreement with most Gr. mss.,⁹ and so Lucifer, *de non parc.* 19. The sentence is quoted in its Vulgate form in Ps.-August. Confl. Vit. et Virt., P. L. 40, 1098, but Gildas, *de Exc. Brit.* ch. 73 has *pro Christo vero Deo* instead of *pro nomine Iesu*. In the Lect. of Luxeuil (P. L. 72, 200), where this passage is in the lesson for Fer. vi post Pascham, the reading is, *pro nomine Iesu Christo*, but in the Miss. Sar., p. 355, in the lesson In Nat. Unius Apost., the form is that of the Vulgate. More important, however, is the use of the phrase in its Vulgate form in other parts of the service; thus, in the Capitulum for the Comm. Apost. in Brev. Sar. II, 370, and for the Day of SS. Philip and James, ib. III, 271; in the Response for this service in Brev. Ebor. II, 267, and for Nat. Un. Apost. in the Brev. of Hyde Abbey, V, f. 411; in the Capitulum for the Common of SS. Peter and Paul in Miss. Westm. III, 1340.

⁸ On liturgical books in general, cf. Mgr. L. Duchesne, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-118, and for the different types, *id.* 120 ff.; Cabrol, in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de la Liturgie*, s.v. *Épîtres*, V, Pt. I, 262 ff. In my attempt to study the place of these quotations in the liturgy, I have had to confine myself to the printed editions of the various books. Although I have been able to refer to the most important representatives of the various types, still much of importance has, I am sure, escaped me. Even so, there is enough, I trust, to make the course of tradition reasonably clear, but only the experienced liturgiologist is in a position to answer the many questions to which almost every quotation gives rise. A list of the liturgical texts I have used is added at the end of this paper.

⁹ Cf. A. C. Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Oxford, 1933, p. 34. He notes the appearance of *τὸν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν* in some mss. and in Stephanus.

The variants from the Vulgate text which appear in these eleven biblical passages, cited in note 6, if we except the three (IV Kings 4, 34; Job 17, 13; Prov. 6, 11) which are found in one author only and may therefore have been due to a slip of memory or to conscious alteration, are all of Old Latin provenience. The fact that they do not occur in Map or in such contemporaries and predecessors as I have studied,¹⁰ with the exception of I John 4, 18 which Bede, for example, quotes both with the Vulgate *caritas* and Old Latin *dilectio*,¹¹ is not of course evidence that Bible texts then current had no trace of Old Latin readings; we know that the opposite is true.¹² It does raise the question, however, why, although other Old Latin readings appear, as we shall see, in Map and other writers, these particular quotations always have the Vulgate form. An explanation is at least suggested by the fact that this is the form in which these verses became fixed in liturgical texts.

In favor of this explanation more positive evidence is afforded by those quotations which show differences from the Vulgate text. These differences may be of two kinds. On the one hand they may be purely formal, i.e., they may consist of changes in the grammatical form of words, in the addition or omission of connecting particles, in word-order, or in all of these together. On the other hand they may be variants in vocabulary.

In the case of quotations which show formal variations from the Vulgate text, the changes in the great majority of instances are seen at first glance to have been due to the necessity on the part of the writer of adapting the biblical verse to the context, so that it becomes an integral part of his expression. Such adaptations rendered necessary certain alterations, such as the substitution of nouns for pronouns, one sort of pronoun for

¹⁰ These include John of Salisbury, whose biblical quotations are listed by Webb in vol. II of his edition (Oxford, 1909), William of Malmesbury, Giraldus Cambrensis, Gervais of Tilbury, Asser, Aldhelm, Bede (in part), Gildas, and such Chronicles as those of Abingdon, Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham.

¹¹ So in Super Par. Sol. i, 1; elsewhere the Vulgate, as in Marc. iv, 14; in Ioan. 14, as also in Gregory, Mor. xi, 40; Reg. Past. iii, 13; Alcuin, de Vir. et Vit. (P. L. 101, 624); Simeon of Durham (Rolls Ser.), p. 261; Ioan. Sar. Polier. v, 9 (Webb, I, 220). On the Old Latin readings, cf. Burkitt, Tyconius, in Texts and Studies, III, p. lxxviii.

¹² Cf. Dom Chapman, The Early History of the Vulgate in England, Cambridge, 1933, pp. 73 ff.; Glunz, The Vulgate in England, Cambridge, 1933, pp. 63 ff., 73 ff.

another, pronouns for nouns; changes in person, case, gender, tense, mood; the subordination of a coördinate clause or the reverse, with the resulting employment or omission of introductory particles; the use of indirect instead of direct statement, and the like. Other changes were certainly due, not to grammar, but to rhetoric, to the effort to secure emphasis, balance, or proper rhythm, or to produce some one of the *schemata verborum*, results often accomplished by a shift in the order of words.

There are in Map's book one hundred and thirty quotations, excluding those from the Psalms,¹³ which show this sort of variation from the Vulgate. Some of these Map quotes in a form which stands alone in contrast to the form or forms appearing in biblical mss. in authors, and in liturgical texts, so that we can be sure that the changes were due to Map himself for some one or all of the reasons suggested above. In other cases variations from the Vulgate norm may also occur elsewhere, but the form of the quotation in Map either is supported by the liturgical form against other readings or is as close to that as to any which may appear in any other place.

The following examples are chosen as representative of this entire group of one hundred and thirty quotations. In citing them, I give the quotation as it occurs in Map and the Vulgate source as indicated by James in his marginal notes, in connection with which I notice any striking variant in Greek and Latin versions. I add also, without attempting to be exhaustive, references to other authors¹⁴ in whose works the quotation appears and to the liturgical books¹⁵ in which I have found it.

¹³ I omit the Psalms from this discussion since their use in the Liturgy needs no illustration and since they present certain problems of interest which deserve separate treatment.

¹⁴ In addition to Anglo-Latin writers, I have consulted also Old English and Middle English writers, whose quotations from the Bible are collected by A. S. Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*, Ser. I (Macmillan, N. Y., 1898); Ser. II (Yale Bicentennial Publ., Scribners, 1903); Mary W. Smyth, *Biblical Quotations in Middle English Literature before 1350* (Yale Studies in Engl., XLI).

¹⁵ Since many of these quotations appear, as I have noted, as versicles for the various services, I have found very helpful the book of C. Marbach, *Carmina Scripturarum*, Argentorati, 1913, who has collected them from the modern Roman Use; they may or may not correspond with the older forms.

Map, p. 155, 16: volo . . . ut suggas mel de petra et oleum de saxo durissimo, which, in the use of *et* for *-que*, shows a slight but, in view of the liturgical forms, a significant variation from the Vulgate Deut. 32, 13: constituit eum . . . ut suggeret mel de petra oleumque de saxo durissimo. No variant is noted in the present Benedictine edition (Rome, 1936), p. 514, except *et oleo que* of cod. Turonensis, but Vercellone (I, 575) notes that a 12th century ms. (U) has, instead of *de saxo durissimo*, *de firma petra* and that this appears in the Glossa Interlinearis, ex Itala. In the Gloss. Ordinaria of Walafrid Strabo (P. L. 113, 490), the reading is, *et oleum de firma petra*, but, since he draws his comment on this verse from Greg. Hom. 26 (in Ev. ii, 26, 3: P. L. 76, 1199)¹⁶ he doubtless owed this reading to Gregory's quotation which runs: *dicatur: suxerunt mel de petra et oleum de firma petra*. This is the reading also in Verecundus, Comm. super Cantica Ecclesiastica,¹⁷ p. 18, but the Comm. of Bruno, P. L. 142, 548, has *et oleum de saxo durissimo*.

This chapter of Deuteronomy, the Canticum Moysi or Cantum Deuteronomium, as it is called in the Rule of S. Benedict,¹⁸ ch. 13, in which it is assigned for singing at Matins (= Vigiliae) on Saturdays, is one of the Canticles which at an early period in Church and Monastic worship were joined with the Psalms and have a place both in Greek liturgy and in all the western types.¹⁹ In the Ps. Ambros. (Magistretti, II, 172) the text of this verse is: *suxerunt mel de petra et oleum de solida petra*, but in Brev. Goth., P. L. 86, 53, where the Canticum is assigned for Dom. I Adv., the reading is closer to that in Vercellone's

¹⁶ This Hom., on John 20, 19-31, appears in an abbreviated form in the English Breviary for use on the Octave of Easter, with this verse omitted; cf. Brev. Sar. I, dcccix; Hyde Abbey, II, f. 106 v.

¹⁷ Ed. Dom J. B. Pitra, in Spicilegium Solesmense IV, Paris, 1858. The verification of references to this book and to others not accessible to me, I owe to the generous help, for which I wish to express my thanks, of Dom O. L. Kapsner, Librarian of St. John's University, Minnesota, Father James A. Kleist of St. Louis University, and Dr. Frank Copley, of the University of Michigan.

¹⁸ Cf. Reg. Monast., ed. B. Linderbauer, Florilegium Patristicum, Fasc. XVII, Bonn, 1928, p. 35.

¹⁹ On this subject, cf. Dom Cabrol, Le Livre de la Prière antique, Tours, 1929, pp. 26 ff.; Dict. d'Archéologie Chrét., s.v. Cantiques, II, 2, 1975 ff.; Marbach, Carm. Script., Einleitung, 23 ff. and text, p. 553; H. Schneider, Die altlateinischen Biblischen Cantica, Texte u. Arbeiten, herausgeg. durch die Erzabtei Beuron, 29/30, Beuron, 1938.

cod. U and in Gregory: suggerunt mel de petra et oleum de firmissima petra.²⁰ The early English books show an interesting difference in their readings. The Antiphony of Bangor,²¹ f. 1 v, has *oleum [que] de saxo durissimo*; Brev. Sar. II, 188 and Brev. Ebor. I, 869, agree with the Vulgate; so, of the Anglo-Saxon Psalters,²² the Lambeth and Arundel, but the Cambridge, Vespasian, Canterbury, and Regius have the reading of Verecundus and Gregory: *suxerunt . . . et oleum de firma petra*; cf. below, p. 204 for a similar grouping of these Psalters. I may add that Map, p. 164, 6, also quotes verse 18 of this canticle, *inquatus . . . incrassatus, dilatatus recalcitravit*, in agreement, save for the order of words, with the Vulgate. These two verses are the only quotations which Map has drawn from Deuteronomy and it is significant, I think, that the only direct quotations which Gildas has from this book are from the same canticle: 32, 32 in de Exc. Brit. ch. 28 and 32, 39 in ch. 36. He was doubtless indebted to his Psalterium as was Map to his.

Map, p. 53, 5: *si balatum audierint hedi nonne cum Tobia dicendum est, vide ne furtivus sit?* Cf. Tob. 2, 21: *Haedum . . . cuius cum vocem balantis . . . audisset dixit, videte ne forte furtivus sit*. The manuscript variants do not concern these words and there seems to be no reason why, if Map was recalling a Bible text, he should have omitted the word *forte* which is present in the mss. of all versions. There are several examples among Map's quotations which show such an omission of a word which stands in the Bible text and in their case, as here,

²⁰ This canticle is not included among those given in Brev. Goth., P. L. 86, 846 ff., and was apparently among the group (X-XVII) which is missing from the ms. of the Psalt. Mozarab. ed. by J. B. Gilson for the H. B. Soc., XXX, 1905.

²¹ Ed. F. E. Warren, H. B. Soc., X, 1895, who supplies *-que* (but note the omission of *-que* in the Ps. ed. by Michel, p. 274, cited below, p. 205); cf. Warren's note, II, 35 for the extension of this canticle in the liturgy. I may note that knowledge of it is shown by S. Sechnall in his Hymn in honor of S. Patrick, Irish Liber Hymn. I, 6 (ed. J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson, H. B. Soc., XIII, 1896) and by Aelfric, who quotes verse 43 in his Hom. on the Maccabees, Skeat, II, 74.

²² The following editions of these Psalters were consulted: Lambeth, ed. U. Lindelöf, Helsingfors, 1909, II, 244 (Acta Soc. Scientiarum Fenniae, XXXV, 1); Arundel: ed. Dess, Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 30, p. 241; Cambridge, ed. K. Wildhagen, Bibl. d. Angelsächsisch. Prosa, VII, 1910, 386; Vespasian, ed. Sweet, E. E. T. S. 83, 1885, p. 410; Canterbury, ed. F. Harsley, E. E. T. S. 92, 1889, II, 252; Regius, ed. F. Roeder, Stud. zur Engl. Phil., Heft 18, 1904, p. 281.

there is warrant in the liturgy for the omission. In the *Ordines Romani* referred to above, P. L. 78, 1052, the book of Tobias is among those prescribed for reading during September and our English Breviaries show traces of the earlier practice. Only ch. 1, however, is retained in its entirety in all of them and only Brev. Sar. and the 13th century Hereford have a lesson containing 2, 21. In the Brev. Sar. (the verse is not printed in the edition of the Brev. Heref. of the H. B. Soc.), the reading is that of the Vulgate, except that the word *forte* is omitted as in Map.²³

Map, p. 24, 12: *sapienticia pretiosa queque clamitans in plateis*, which derives ultimately, as James notes, from Prov. 1, 20: *sapientia foris praedicat, in plateis dat vocem suam; in capite turbarum clamitat*. A free paraphrase of this verse is given by Hilar. in Ps. 118, 12, but Greg. Mor. xviii, 8, 15 quotes exactly from the Vulgate; so Bede, super Par. Sol., P. L. 91, 942. Here Map is recalling, beyond any doubt, I think, the antiphon, *sapientia clamitat in plateis, si quis diligit sapientiam*, etc., which in the English Breviaries is assigned for Sunday Vespers during August; cf. Hyde Abbey, f. 138; Sar. I, mclvii; Ebor. I, 575; in the Leofric Collectar, p. 273, for Dom. XII post Oct. Pentec. For modern use, cf. Marbach, op. cit., p. 257.

Map, p. 253, 1: *bursa . . . que . . . iustificat impium et non vult mortem peccatorum*. The first phrase of this quotation James refers to Prov. 17, 15, *qui iustificat impium*,²⁴ the second to Ezek. 33, 11, where, however, the Vulgate has *mortem impii*, a divergence on which comment will be made below in connection with the discussion of verbal variants from the Vulgate text. It is unnecessary to suppose in this case that Map himself combined these two phrases to form his quotation, since they appear already combined as he gives them in the prayer beginning, *Deus qui iustificas impium et non vis mortem peccatorum*, a prayer which occurs in a *Missa Votiva* in the Sacramentary of Gregory, p. 191, also in Grimold. Sacr., P. L. 121,

²³ In the Lect. of Luxeuil, P. L. 72, 202, Tob. is assigned for the Rogation Days; in the Man. Ambros. (cf. Magistretti, II, 56) for several *Feriae* during Holy Week, but in neither case is the verse printed in the editions accessible to me.

²⁴ Note also Is. 5, 22-3; *vae . . . qui iustificat impium*, which is thus quoted by Gildas, de Exc. Brit. 43 and by Matt. Par. Chron. M. (Rolls Ser.) II, 520 and which occurs in the lesson in Brev. Sar. I, xci for Fer. ii post Dom. II Adv.

828 and *Sacr. Berg.*, p. 151, and which was certainly in early use in the English Church; cf. e.g., the *Mass Pro Amico Fideli* in the *Leofric Miss.*, p. 189; *Pro Poenitentibus* in *Miss. Sar.*, p. 400 (so in *Miss. Rom. I*, 469); in the *Ordo Famulos Dei Includendi* in *Man. Sar.*, p. 39 (*peccatoris*).

To a prayer also, rather than to a Bible text, should be assigned, I think, another quotation, p. 2, 11: *iudex qui dicit bonum malum et malum bonum*, which shows a shift in the order of words as compared with *Vulgate Is. 5, 20*: *vae qui dicitis malum bonum et bonum malum*. This *Vulgate* order is that in the *LXX* and in Old Latin versions, although here the structure is different; cf. *Spec. 109*, *dicunt quod malum est bonum*, etc.; *August. Spec. 19*; *contra Parm. ii, 1, 1-2* (with *nequam* for *malum*). *August.* reverses the order, however, in *Ench. ad Laur. 13*, *dicunt quod bonum est malum*, etc. The confusion is so natural that it would have little significance, were it not for the fact that *Map's* order finds support in our earliest English sources. It is the order in *Gildas, de Exc. Brit. 37*, *qui dicit bonum malum nec malum bonum* and, what is of greater importance, in the *Pontifical of Egbert* (ms. of 10th century), p. 2, in the prayer at the ordination of a bishop: *da ei . . . patientiam ut non dicat bonum malum nec malum bonum, nec ponat lucem in tenebras nec tenebras in lucem*. Since *Gildas* himself tells us that he was using, for a part at least of his work, a service-book containing the rite of ordination,²⁵ it is not illogical to suppose that his book had this or some similar prayer and that his quotation came from this source. The *Vulgate* order on the other hand appears in this prayer in *Leofric's Miss.*, p. 218, where also the order of the clauses, as given in *Egbert*, is reversed. *Leofric's* order is that found in *Sacr. Gelas. I, 99*, in the *Miss. Franc. P. L. 72, 325*, in the *Sarum Pontifical*, printed in *Maskell, Mon. Rit. III, 265*, and in the *Brev. of Hyde Abbey, f. 9*. In the 10th century *Pontifical of Lanalet*, however, p. 58, the form is again that of *Egbert*, whereas the *Pont. of Robert*, p. 126, and of *Magdalen Coll.*,

²⁵ Cf. the notes of H. Williams in his edition of *Gildas*, Printed for the Society of Cymmrodorion, London, 1899, pp. 230 ff.; F. C. Burkitt, "The Bible of *Gildas*," *Rev. Benedictine*, XLVI, 1934, 206-215.

p. 75, reverse the position of the clauses, but have the same word order, *non dicat bonum malum nec malum bonum*, that is seen in Gildas, Egbert, and Map. It may be noted also that this is the order in Brev. Sar. I, lxxxiii in the lesson for Dom. II Adv. and in the 13th century Brev. Heref., I, 123 n. b; it is also the order in Liber Comicus, Lect. Dom. III, p. 336, but in the Brev. Goth. P. L. 86, 295, Dom. I Adv., the order is that of the Vulgate.²⁶

One other quotation from the Old Testament deserves mention, the tradition of which is similar to that of the quotation from the Canticle in Deuteronomy discussed above, p. 199. The questions which it raises concerning textual readings and concerning the relationship among the various types of liturgical books are beyond the competence of the writer to discuss:

Map, p. 249, 29: *Deus in his fluminibus furor tuus et in hoc indignatio tua mari*. This is a paraphrase, with the omission of the first member and a shift in word-order, of Hab. 3, 8: *numquid in fluminibus iratus es, Domine, aut in fluminibus furor tuus? vel in mari indignatio tua?* A condensation similar to Map's and like his derived ultimately from the Vulgate is seen in Matt. Par. Chr. M. (Rolls Ser.) V, 177, . . . *iratus es . . . in mari indignatio tua*. The Vulgate text is close to the LXX, although, as Jerome remarks in his comment, P. L. 25, 1317, the word *ὄρμημα* requires *impetus* rather than *indignatio*. The presence of *impetus* in Old Latin versions may be attested by S. August. de Civ. Dei xviii, 32, who agrees with the Vulgate except for changes in the third member: . . . *aut in mari impetus tuus*. Slight but important differences are shown by Verecundus, Comm. super Cant. vi, 10-11 (ed. cited above, p. 199): *numquid in fluminibus ira tua est, Domine, aut in mare (sic) impetus tuus*. Still another version appears in the Life of the Forty Martyrs by John the Deacon of Naples:²⁷ *ne in*

²⁶ In the early English Homilies the verse is quoted in the Vulgate form; cf. Cook, Biblical Quotations, I, p. 118, II, p. 50; so too in Robt. Grossetete, Ep. 11; 71, and in the 14th century Pricke of Conscience, 45, 1614-5, cited by Mary W. Smyth, Bibl. Quotations in Middle Engl. Lit., p. 194. The phrase with Map's order turns up again in Vices and Virtues, E. E. T. S. LXXXIX, 1888, p. 79.

²⁷ Cf. Acta Sanct. Mar. 10, VIII, 24. This was a translation of the Greek Life by Evadius, Bishop of Caesarea; cf. Manitius, Gesch. d. Lat. Lit. d. M-A, I, 711.

fluminibus irasceris nobis, Domine, neque in fluminibus furor tuus saeviat, evidently the source of Aelfric's quotation in his Hom. on the Day of these Martyrs ²⁸ (Skeat I, 248). The use here of the present of *irasceri* in the first member is seen again in the version of this Canticle in Psalt. Ambros. II, 168: numquid in fluminibus *irasceris*, Domine, aut in fluminibus ira tua (cf. Verecundus, above), aut in mari impetus tuus. In agreement with this version, but with the omission of the first or second member, is the form which appears in the Canticle in Brev. Goth. P. L. 86, 81 for Dom. III Adv.: numquid . . . ira tua, Domine, aut in mari impetus tuus.²⁹ Closer to the Vulgate, on the other hand, but with the omission of the second member and with the reading *impetus*, is the version in the Gallican Lectionary of Wolfenbüttel,³⁰ p. 8: numquid in fluminibus iratus es, Domine, aut in mari impetus tuus. The Vulgate form reappears in Bruno's Commentary, P. L. 142, 542.

This Canticle, like the one from Deuteronomy, appears in most of our early English Psalters, references to which I have given above, and the grouping of the texts is the same in both cases: the Lambeth and Arundel have the reading of the Vulgate, whereas Canterbury, Regius, Cambridge, and Vespasian have, numquid in fluminibus ira tua, Domine, aut in fluminibus furor tuus aut in mare (*sic*) impetus tuus (except that Vesp. has *irae tuae*). This agreement with the reading in Verecundus, even to the ungrammatical *in mare* is noteworthy, especially in view of the agreement otherwise with the form of the two members in the Ps. Ambros. and the Brev. Goth. (if the text printed in P. L. is to be trusted).³¹ The Vulgate read-

²⁸ This festival does not appear in 13th century English books, but has a place in most of the calendars before 1100; cf. F. Wormald, English Calendars before 1100, H. B. Soc. LXXII, 1934, pp. 18, 46, 74, 242. Aelfric's version is: Ne yrsa ðu drihten us on ðysum deopum flodum/ne þin hat-heortnys on þyssere es ne sy.

²⁹ In Miss. Mozarab. P. L. 85, 455, the lesson for the Blessing of the Candles is a condensed version of Hab. 1, 1 to 3, 4.

³⁰ This important text from the 5/6 centuries has been edited by P. Alban Dold, Das älteste Liturgiebuch der lateinischen Kirche. Ein altgallikanisches Lectionar des 5/6 Jhr.; Texte u. Arbeiten, herausgeg. durch die Erzabtei Beuron, Heft. 26-28, Beuron, 1936; cf. his remarks regarding the text of this verse, p. xxix.

³¹ I have been unable to consult Capelle, Le Texte du Psautier Latine en Afrique, Collectanea Biblica Latina, IV, Rome, 1913, 221-225. No light is thrown on these vari-

ing appears, however, in the tripartite Latin Psalter, published by Michel from a 12th century ms.,³² and in the English Breviaries, where the Canticle is assigned for Lauds on Fer. vi, Sar. II, 167 and Ebor. I, 848; (Heref. I, 11 but text not printed).

In this case Map's quotation may be referred with equal plausibility either to a Vulgate Bible text or to the liturgy. In view, however, of the frequent use of the Canticle both in ecclesiastical and monastic worship and also of the fact that this is the only quotation which Map has drawn from Habacuc, the chances are, I think, in favor of a liturgical source.

Of the quotations which are to be referred ultimately to the New Testament those from Matthew and Luke are the most numerous, the very books, it will be noted, which furnished much of the most familiar matter to the liturgy, the Lord's Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, the Canticles Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc Dimittis, from all of which Map quotes. Here again I may note that, in the case of many of these quotations, there is, in contrast to the merely formal variants from the Vulgate text appearing in Map and other writers, a verbal variant in Old Latin versions, but that this variant does not appear in Roman and English liturgical books, with the phraseology of which Map agrees as closely as with that found in other sources. Although sometimes Map's agreement with the liturgical form against the Vulgate lies in the omission of connecting particles, or other words, still the very number of these cases, especially in view of those still to be discussed, in which there is verbal agreement with the liturgy against the Vulgate, adds weight to the assumption of a liturgical source for both types of quotation. Since, however, there is no way of proving that Map was following the liturgical form rather than a Vulgate text from which he omitted a word, or words, I shall content myself with citing one example as an illustration of this sort of quotation.

ants in the Canticle by Wildhagen in his articles on the Anglo-Saxon Psalters, *Studien zur Englishchen Philologie*, XIII, 1905 and L, 1913 nor by Ramsey, "Latin Text of the Paris Psalter," *Am. Jour. of Philology*, XLI, 1920, where he remarks on the presence of these Canticles in early English books.

³² In *Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France*, LXXVIII, 1876, p. 271, from the

Map, p. 66, 11: *audivimus dicentem, recumbentibus undecim discipulis et cetera*; Mk. 16, 14: *recumbentibus illis undecim apparuit*. Here all mss. have *illis* and omit *discipulis* and it is possible of course that Map was quoting carelessly. In Roman and English Missals, however, where Mk. 16, 14–20 is the Gospel lesson³³ for Ascension Day, *illis* is omitted³⁴ before *undecim* and *discipulis* is added, so that the phrase runs as in Map, *recumbentibus undecim discipulis (+ apparuit illis Iesus)*;³⁵ cf. Frere, II, pp. 13, 42; Miss. Rom. I, 234; Sar., p. 156; Ebor. I, 148; Westm. I, 342; so in the Brev. Hyde Abbey, f. 118 v. Here these English books agree with the Ambrosian, in the lesson for Dom. I post Pentec., except for the last words, *apparuit eis Dominus Iesus*; cf. Man. Ambros. II, p. 406, n.; Sac. Berg., p. 89. On the other hand, in the Mozarabic and Gallican books, where this chapter is assigned for Fer. ii or iii after Easter, the reading is that of the Vulgate, *illis undecim apparuit*; cf. Miss. Mozarab. P. L. 85, 488; Lect. Wolfenb., p. 10. Since there seems to be no reason why, if Map was using a Bible text, he should have omitted *illis* and added *discipulis*, his agreement with the English (Roman) liturgical texts makes it likely, to say the least, that he was recalling the form found in these texts. The difference between them and the Vulgate was doubtless due to the fact that this verse 14 is the beginning of the lesson.

The evidence furnished by these selected quotations from the group which show agreement in vocabulary with the Vulgate is of course greatly strengthened when we include with them

ms. in Trinity College, Cambridge, with variants from ms. Lat. 8846 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

³³ Convenient lists of the Lessons for the Roman Use from 700 A.D. on are contained in W. H. Frere, *Studies in the Early Roman Liturgy*, 2 vols., Alcuin Club Collections, XXX and XXXII, Oxford Univ. Press, 1934; cf. also Theod. Klauser, *Roemische capitulare evangeliorum I*, *Literaturgesch. Quellen u. Forschungen XXVIII*, 1935 (Münster in Weste), pp. 27; 114.

³⁴ So it is omitted in some Gr. mss., notably the Cod. Regius Parisiensis, and in the Washington Codex, cf. Sanders, *Univ. of Michigan Stud., Humanistic Ser.* IX, 1912, p. 246.

³⁵ In Vulgate mss. the words *illis Iesus* are found only in the 13th century cor. vat.; cf. Wordsworth-White, *Praef.* xxviii, an addition due, I would suggest, to the influence of the liturgy.

the rest of the one hundred and thirty having a similar history. At least forty of these, I may note, occur in the early English liturgical books, accessible to me, not only in lessons, but in prayers and anthems. It is indeed strong enough, it seems to me, to establish the probability, if not proof, that Map and the other writers of his time whose quotations agree with his in phraseology had learned the verses, not from a Bible text as such, but from that text as it had become fixed in these books. This probability does, however, become all but a certainty when one studies those quotations which show a real variant, especially one in vocabulary, from the Vulgate text.

There are some thirty-five of these in Map, again excluding those from the Psalms, of which I select a few representative examples. I may begin the discussion of these with a brief reference to one which really belongs with the preceding group, but which, if compared with the text of the present Benedictine edition, shows a real variant:

Map, p. 81, 24: *animancia omnium motabilium*; cf. Vg. Gen. 1, 21: *omnem animam atque motabilem*. This is the reading in BMT³⁶ and of the Sixtine and Clementine editions, but AG have *mutabilem*, the reading adopted by Dom Quentin.³⁷ In the liturgical books, however, where this first chapter of Genesis is among the Lessons for Easter Eve, the only appearance of *mutabilem* I have noticed is in the Lib. Comicus, p. 172; the others have *motabilem*; cf. Miss. Mozarab. P. L. 85, 443; Sac. Berg., p. 66; Lect. of Corbie, Frere, III, 9, also for Sabb. Pentec., id., p. 12; Miss. Rom. I, 178, and the English Missals, Sar., p. 119; Ebor. I, 118; Westm. I, 290. This is likewise the reading in the Lesson for Fer. ii Septuag. in Brev. Sar. I, d and Ebor. I, 241 (the same Lesson is assigned in Brev. Heref. I, 241, but the text is not printed in the H. B. Soc. ed.).

Map, p. 31, 5: *qui not venit ad Helyam in vento petras contereente nec in terremotu nec in igne, sed in levis aure sibulo*,

³⁶ These and the following abbreviations are to be understood as follows: B, Cod. Burgensis, s.x; M, cod. Maudramni, s. viii; T, cod. Martinianus, s. viii; A, cod. Amiatinus, s. vii/viii; G, cod. Turonensis S. Gatiani, s. vi/vii.

³⁷ Cf. also Vercellone, *Variae Lectiones vulgatae*, I, 3, who supports *mutabilem* by citations from Ps.-Bede, Bede himself (Hex. I, P. L. 91, 26), Remigius, Hrabanus Maurus, and Walafrid Strabo.

and p. 34, 18: *Hii tenebant in aura levi Dominum . . . enventus petras conterens terremotus et ignis*. These quotations are paraphrases of III Kings 19, 11-12: *spiritus . . . conterens petras ante Dominum . . . post spiritum commotio; non in commotione Dominus . . . non in igne Dominus; et post ignem sibilus aurae tenuis*. No variants are cited by Vercellone nor in Tischendorf's edition. Old Latin versions may have had forms of *terraemotus*, so Sabatier, who constructs his text upon the one certain pre-Jerome quotation, that in the Latin version of Irenaeus, adv. Haer. iv, 34, 9 (ed. Harvey, Cambridge, 1857): *spiritus conteret petras . . . et non in spiritu Dominus: et post spiritum terraemotus et non in terraemotu Dominus . . . et non in igne . . . et post ignem vox aurae tenuis*. Later writers agree with the Vulgate, *commotio . . . sibilus aurae tenuis*; so Greg.³⁸ Mor. v, 26, 66; Ps.-Eucherius, Comm. in Reg. iv, 8 (P. L. 50, 1177); Walafr. Gloss. Ord. P. L. 43, 608; Ioan. Sar. de Sept. 6 (P. L. 199, 959); Matt. Par. Chron. M. (Rolls Ser.) VI, 407. The last-named differs from the others and from Map in using *lenis* for *tenuis*: *nec in commotione sed potius in sibilo aurae lenis*. Although all the four books of Kings were originally read, as we have seen (above, p. 194) during the season after Pentecost, this part of bk. III has not been retained in Roman and English Breviaries and the one Mass-lesson for which this chapter was utilized, for Fer. iv post Dom. I Quadr., stops with verse 8; cf. the Corbie Lect., Frere III, 4; Miss. Rom. I, 62, and the English Missals, Sar. p. 60; Ebor. I, 55; Westm. I, 114. In two books only have I found verses 11-12 in the Lesson (III Kings 19, 2-15) for the beginning of Lent, Lib. Comicus, p. 56 and Miss. Bobb., p. 41, in both of which the reading is that of the Vulgate. It is possible, therefore, that some early English book may have contained this longer form of the Lesson from which the verses would have become familiar to Map and his contemporaries. Even so, he could hardly have found his reading, *terremotus . . . levis*, there,

³⁸ Gregory is commenting on Job 4, 16: *vocem quasi aurae lenis audiui*, and uses the adj. *lenis* several times, but not *levis*. Is it possible that the *levis* of Map rests upon a scribal error? It may be too that the *vox* of the Latin Irenaeus is due to confusion with this verse in Job.

or indeed in any Bible text, since from the time of Gildas ³⁹ on, the books of Kings seem to have been known in England only in their Vulgate form. Perhaps the explanation of these differences from the Vulgate text lies in a slip of memory, by which Map was led to substitute the word *terraemotus*, familiar to him from its use in the New Testament for *commotio* and *levis* for *tenuis*. There is, however, another possibility which directs our attention to an alternative liturgical source. Although Map seems not to have known the Latin Irenaeus, it is probable that he knew the work of a later writer who evidently quotes these verses from Irenaeus, since his quotation agrees exactly, the sermon, ascribed to S. Ambrose (P. L. 17, 798), beg., *peractis perfectionis inspectisque muneribus*. This sermon may well have been the channel by means of which the quotation in Irenaeus was transmitted, although I have not found it in our existing English service-books.

Map, p. 156, 11: *utinam hanc introducas in cubiculum tuum, ut introducat te rex in suum*. James compares Gen. 24, 67: *introduxit eam in tabernaculum* and Cant. i, 3, *introduxit me rex in cellaria sua*. For this second passage the LXX has *εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον*, which seems to have been the reading in Origen, whereas Aquila had *τὰ ταμεῖα* and the so-called Quinta Editio and the Syriac *τοὺς κοιτῶνας*.⁴⁰ This reading is back of the Latin *cubiculum* which Jerome uses in his translation of Origen's Homily on the Song (P. L. 23, 1180) and in his own Preface to that work, ib. 1174, *introduxit me rex in cubiculum suum*. This is the form in Ambrose also, in Ps. 118, i, 7; ii, 29, and in Cant. 16 and 20 (P. L. 15, 1954, 1958), where he remarks: *Graecus in promptuarium suum et in cellarium suum habet*. Although I can find no evidence for *cubiculum* in the early mss. of Jerome's version, it appears in Greg. super Cant. i, 12 (P. L. 79, 483), but Ps.-Cassiod. (P. L. 70, 1057), Bede (P. L. 91, 1079), and Anselm of Laon (P. L. 162, 1191) in their commentaries on the verse have the Vulgate *cellaria*. Any reference to a

³⁹ Cf. Burkitt, op. cit. supra p. 202. Gildas does, to be sure, quote I Kings 2, 17-34 in a form different from the Vulgate text but, as Burkitt points out, Gildas drew this entire quotation from Lucifer, C. S. E. L. p. 82.

⁴⁰ Cf. Field, *Origines Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, Oxford, 1875.

Bible text is, however, unnecessary, since the form of the verse quoted by Map is exactly that which appears in a familiar antiphon, made up of the two verses of Cant. i, 4 and 3: *nigra sum sed formosa . . . ideo dilexit me rex et introduxit me in cubiculum suum*; so in the Liber Responsalis, P. L. 78, 799, for the Assump. B. V. M. and in the English Breviaries for Nat. Un. Virg.; cf. Sar. II, 445; Ebor. II, 61; Heref. I, 78, Hyde Abbey, f. 436 v.; cf. also, Marbach, op. cit., p. 266.

The example which follows is of interest as an illustration of the value which reference to a liturgical form may have for the solution of textual problems:

Map, p. 139, 13: *Dominus qui omnes misericordias David fidelis . . . compleverit*; cf. Is. 55, 3: *feriam vobiscum pactum sempiternum, misericordias David fideles*, agreeing with the LXX, τὰ ὅσια Δαυιδ τὰ πιστά, a reading which led James to query, whether the plural *fideles* should not be read in Map. The reading of the genitive *fidelis* is supported, however, not only by the following words, *quas ipse fidei suo David habuit*, but by the presence of *fidelis* in liturgical texts.⁴¹ Thus we find it in the lesson for Sun. before Lent in Miss. Mozarab. P. L. 85, 282 (but Lib. Comicus, p. 177, Vig. Pasch. has *fideles*) and in such Roman books as I have been able to consult, where this chapter of Is. is one of the Vigil lessons⁴² for Easter Eve; cf. Miss. Rom. I, 183; in the English Breviaries (except York) this verse appears in the lesson for Epiphany, with the reading *fidelis* in Sar. I, cccxx, but *fideles* in Hyde Abbey, f. 39; and *fidelis* again in the Capitulum for Fer. i Hebd. iv Quadr. in Leofric Coll. I, 111, where the editor marks the form as corrupt. To be noted also is the appearance of the words *David fidelis* in the antiphon, *quis enim in omnibus sicut David fidelis*, in Brev. Sar. I, mclxii, Ebor. I, 559, Heref. I, 419, Hyde Abbey, f. 134 v, and in some versions⁴³ of the hymn, *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, which have for verses 9-10, *impleta sunt quae cecinit / David fidelis carmine*; so Brev. Sar. I, dccxiv; III, 274; Heref. II, 159, 326; but Hyde

⁴¹ This is the reading also in the Cod. Amiatinus, Tischendorf, p. 761.

⁴² Cf. Ordines Rom. P. L. 78, 1014; Sac. Gelas. i, 43; Frere, op. cit. III, 52-3.

⁴³ Cf. Daniel, Thesaurus Hymnologicus, I, 160. For the variant, cf. Leo's critical notes in his ed. of Fortunatus, M. G. H. IV, p. 34.

Abbey, f. 248 v, has the usual reading, *fidei carmine*; so Brev. Ebor. I, 344 (except the Paris ed. of 1526). There is no reason, it would seem, to question the reading *fidelis* in Map's manuscript.

Map, p. 253, 1: *bursa . . . que . . . iustificat impium et non vult mortem peccatorum*. The direct source of this quotation was, as I pointed out above, p. 201, a familiar prayer of which it forms the opening words. This particular formula was made, as is often the case with liturgical phrases,⁴⁴ by combining verses, or parts of verses, drawn from different parts of the Bible, here the first phrase from Is. 5, 22 or Prov. 17, 15, and the second from Ezek. 33, 11, which in the mss. of Jerome's version reads, *nolo mortem impii*; so in 18, 23, *numquid voluntatis meae est mors impii*? Jerome in his comment on the verse (P. L. 25, 319) recognizes *impii* only and this word appears in Cass. Conl. xiii, 7, 6, Faust. de Grat. i, 11, and Hrabanus Maurus, P. L. 110, 833. Of Old Latin versions the "African" type had *mortem morientis*; so August. Lib. Quaest. 102, 3, in Iob. 102, 8; 111, 10 (but the Vulgate *impii* in de Bapt. ii, 10, 15 and in his Serm. 40, 2, 3; 71, 21; 223, 2); Cypr. de Laps. 36, from whom may have drawn⁴⁵ Lucif. de Reg. Ap. 12, and this reading appears also in Ps.-Ambros., in II Cor. 2, 11. The "Italian" type, however, had *peccatoris*, agreeing with the Greek, ἀμαρτωλοῦ of Cod. Alexandrinus. This *peccatoris* appears in Clemens, Ep. ad Cor. 8; Philastr. de Haer. 11; Ps.-Cypr. ad Novat. 10; Isid. in Gen. 5; Greg. Hom. in Ev. ii, 33, 8; Vitae Patr., P. L. 73, 539, 581; and generally in documents of every region; cf. Paul. Diac., Vit. et Martyr. Patr. Emeritens. (Flores, España Sagrada, XIII), p. 342; Paul of Cordova, Conf. (ib. XI), p. 66; Greg. Tur. Liber Vit. Patr. (Kroesch, MGH, Rer. Mer. I), p. 707; always in England; cf. Gildas, de Exc. Brit. 29, Anselm. Hom. 13 (P. L. 158, 650); Ps.-Bede, de Sex. Dieb. Creat. P. L. 93, 252; Aelfric, Hom. in Ezek. 33, 11 (synfullan, cf. Cook, op. cit. I, 124); Blickling Hom. (ed. Morris), p. 97; Ioan. Sar. Policr. ii, 4 (Webb, I, 72).

Corresponding with the prevalence of the form *mortem pec-*

⁴⁴ Cf. the ref. cited in my earlier paper (cf. above, p. 191), p. 46, n. 26.

⁴⁵ Cf. Dombart, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr. VIII, 1888, 173.

catoris(um) in the authors is its use in the liturgical books of all types to the practical exclusion of the Vulgate *mortem impij*. This does occur in the lessons in which I had noted this verse, Brev. Goth. P. L. 86, 710 (Die I Ieiun.) and Liber Comicus, p. 300 (Ord. Episc.), but in other parts of the service, even in the Mozarabic books, *peccatoris(um)* is the rule, e.g. Liber Ordinum, p. 17, Miss. Mozarab. P.L. 86, 289, and so elsewhere. I may note its appearance in the Response for Dom. I Quadr. in Lib. Respons. P. L. 78, 751, Man. Ambros. III, 152 (III Quadr.) and the English Breviaries, Sar. I, dlxxx, Ebor. I, 278, Heref. I, 259, Hyde Abbey, f. 70; as the Antiphon (*vivo ego . . . nolo mortem peccatoris*) for Dom. Sex. in Leofric Coll., p. 77, and for the Penitential Office in Pont. Egbert, p. 124, Lanalet, p. 79, Brev. Hyde Abbey, f. 72; and in various prayers said at this service or at others;⁴⁶ cf. e.g. that beginning, *Deus qui non vis mortem sed penitentiam desideras peccatorum* (Miss. Mozarab., l.c.; Sac. Greg., p. 141; Pont. Archb. Robt., p. 10; Lanalet, p. 72; Miss. Sar., p. 50, etc.), and that beginning, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui non vis mortem peccatorum*, Sac. Greg., p. 53, Miss. Sar., p. 112, etc.; for similar formulae, cf. Book of Dimna, p. 68; Stowe Miss., p. 222; Sac. Gelas. I, xxxviii; Sac. Fuld, p. 281; Miss. Bobb., pp. 121, 133; Ord. Rom. x (P.L. 78, 1017); Miss. Goth. I, 72. We may go back of these Latin prayers to the Greek form seen in Apost. Const. viii, 9, 8, οὐ βούλει τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν, so in Didasc. Apost. ii, 12 (ed. Funk). The force of liturgical tradition can have no better illustration.

Map, p. 11, 11: *non cogitabant de crastino* and p. 41, 27: *non debeant ex avangelio cogitare de crastino*, for the source of which James refers to Matt. 6, 34, *nolite ergo solliciti esse in crastinum*. This is a close rendering of the Greek text, in all types of which some form of the verb *μεριμνάω* appears. The older Latin reading, to which Jerome bears witness in his comment on the verse (P. L. 26, 47), in that on Tit. i, 7 (P. L. 26, 602), and in Epist. 123, 15 (P. L. 22, 1056), was, *nolite ergo*

⁴⁶ For other references and a discussion of these formulae, cf. Bishop, "Liturgical Note," in *The Prayer Book of Aedelwald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne*, ed. Dom A. B. Kuypers, Cambridge Univ. Press, pp. 234 ff.

(itaque) cogitare de crastino (in crastinum), attested by mss. f, h, k, and g⁴⁷ (ne ergo cogitaveritis de crastino). This reading of g appears in Spec. 5, but the other form, although without *ergo*, in Cypr. Test. iii, 11 (nolite cogitare de crastino), August.⁴⁸ Serm. Dom. ii, 25; 56, contra Adim. iv, 24, and with *ergo*, Op. Mon. 23, 29; 24, 31; cf. also Paul. Nol. Ep. xi, 13; Sulp. Sev. Vita S. Martini (C. S. E. L. I) 2, 8 (iam tamen evangelii non surdus auditor⁴⁹ de crastino non cogitabat); Cass. Conl. xix, 8, 3 (secundum evangelicae perfectionis salutare mandatum nihil de crastino cogitare); Ps.-Ambros. Serm. i on Lk. 12, 33 (P. L. 17, 782: nolite cogitare de crastino); Vit. Patr. P. L. 73, 128, 1016, inspired no doubt by Sulpicius; Salvian. de Gub. Dei, iii, 10, who seems to have drawn from Jerome's commentary. Some of these writers also use the Vulgate form, e.g. August. Op. Mon. 1, 2; Cass. Inst. iv, 5 (de crastino . . . sollicitus) and Conl. xix, 5, 2; Vit. Patr. P. L. 73, 484 (nolite solliciti esse de crastino). This last is the reading in Hilar. in Ps. 54 and, with *ergo*, in Matt. 5 (P. L. 9, 949), agreeing, except that *in crastinum* is more frequent than *de crastino*, with the rest of the Old Latin mss. and all of Jerome's, including the early Irish texts which often show Old Latin readings. It is the usual form in later writers also, e.g. Greg. Mor. ix, 105; Bede, in Matt. 1, 6 (solliciti . . . de crastino) and Retr. in Act. 11; Christian of Stavelot, whose readings often agree with the Irish texts,⁵⁰ in Matt. 6, 34 (P. L. 106, 1359); Hrab. Maur. in Matt., P. L. 107, 839; Walafr. Strab. Gloss. Ord., P. L. 113, 924-5; Anonym. in Charlemagne's Homil., P. L. 95, 1407; Matt. Par. Hist. Angl. (Rolls Ser.) II, 110. On the other hand Greg. Hom.⁵¹ in Ev. I, 13, 6 (P. L. 76, 1126) has, nolite de temporalis vitae prudentia incerta cogitare and Girald. Cambr.,

⁴⁷ That is: f, Cod. Brixianus (6th century); h, Cod. Claromontanus (4/5 centuries); k, Cod. Bobiensis (4/5 centuries); g, Cod. Sangermensis (9th century); cf. Vogels, *Vulgatastud.*, p. 95; Hoskier, II, 210.

⁴⁸ For this verse in the writings of August., cf. Milne, *A Reconstruction of the Old Latin Text or Texts Used by Augustine* (above, p. 195, n. 7), p. 20.

⁴⁹ This phrase appears also in Paul. Nol. Ep. v, 6; cf. Weyman, *Rh. M.* LIII, 1898, 317.

⁵⁰ Cf. Laistner, *Harv. Theol. Rev.* XX, 1927, 129 ff.

⁵¹ This Homily was read on St. Felix's Day according to Brev. Sar. II, 437, but this passage is omitted in the printed editions.

Prin. Instr. (Rolls Ser.) VIII, 44, the Old Latin form, *nolite cogitare de crastino*.

If the manuscript tradition of this verse has any significance, we must conclude, in the face of the absence of *cogitare* from all Bible texts of Anglo-Saxon or Irish provenience, as far at least as these have been collated, that no writer of mediaeval England was likely to learn this reading from a Bible text. Nor is the riddle of the source solved by turning to the Gospel lessons, for no lesson containing this verse is preserved in our Roman or English books. And where we do find it, in the Gallican Lect. of Wolfenbüttel, p. 23, in the 13th century Man. Ambros. III, 249 (Dom. I post Ascen.), and in the Sacr. Berg., p. 50 (Fer. iii Hebd. iv Quadr.), the reading is that of the Vulgate. In other books Matt. 6, 24-33 (not 34)⁵² is the lesson for Dom. xiv or xv post Trin. and verse 31, *nolite solliciti dicentes*, is a familiar antiphon. By the side of the Gospel lesson, however, there were, as we have seen above, readings drawn from other sources, Homilies and Lives of the Saints, and it is to these we must turn, I think for the explanation of the presence of *cogitare* in Map and other writers. Whether or not the sermon of Ps.-Ambrose, quoted above, with its *nolite . . . cogitare*, was read at any service I have been unable to determine, but the Life of St. Martin by Sulpicius has a place in our earliest English sources as the reading for the festival of this Saint.⁵³ The life was translated⁵⁴ by Aelfric (cf. Skeat, II, 218 ff.), in which Sulpicius' words, which I have quoted above, are rendered: *swa swa þæt god-spel sæð ne þenc þu be mergene*, "As the Gospel saith, take no thought for the morrow." Similarly in the Blickling Homilies, xviii, 213, in the sermon for the same occasion, we have, in addition to the vernacular, *þæt se Godes man ne sceolde be þān morgendaege þencean*, the Latin, *de crastino non cogitare*. Of the English Breviaries only in Sarum

⁵² In the 1569 edition of the Book of Common Prayer, verse 34 is included in the lesson, with the reading, "Take no thought for the morrow," as in the King James' version.

⁵³ Evidently also in the Ambrosian books, since the Response for this service is drawn from Sulpicius' Life of the Saint; cf. Man. Ambros. III, 3.

⁵⁴ Cf. on this matter G. H. Gerould, Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol. XXIV, 1925, 206-10, a reference which I owe to the kindness of Mr. Peebles.

II, 1012 has the above phrase from the Sulpicius-Vita been retained, iam tamen evangelii non surdus auditor: de crastino non cogitabat. It would seem that the preservation of this Old Latin form was due to the widespread influence of this Life.

The quotations from the Epistles present several interesting problems, but I shall have to content myself with but one illustration:

Map, p. 82, 16: the name ROMA, he says, is its own definition, Radix Omnium Malorum Avaritia; cf. I Tim. 6, 10: radix enim omnium malorum cupiditas. Here the Greek text has *φιλαργυρία*, Latin mss. generally *cupiditas*, but *avaritia* in the Cod. Fuldensis. Both readings occur in quotations, sometimes, as in Cassian, Inst. xii, 27, accompanied by the Latin transliteration, *philargyria*,⁵⁵ of the Gr. word; thus, *cupiditas* in Spec. 98; Cypr. Test. iii, 61; August. in Ps. 90, 8, evidently to secure a rime with the following *charitas*, as also in Serm. 72, 4; Primasius, in his commentary, P. L. 68, 579, etc.; *avaritia* in Zeno, Tract. i, 9, 1 (P. L. 11, 327); Ps.-Ambros. Comm. P. L. 17, 509; often in Augustine's sermons: cf. 14, 7, where he quotes verses 7-10; 50, 1; 177, 1, on I Tim. 6, 7-19; cf. also de Gen. ad Litt. xi, 15: Apostolus ait, radix omnium malorum avaritia, si avaritiam generalem intelligimus . . . specialis est autem avaritia qua usitatus appellatur amor pecuniae, cuius nomine Apostolus per speciem genus significans universalem avaritiam volebat intelligi dicendo, radix omn. malor. est avaritia. Perhaps this is the source of the form in Gaudent. Tract. xviii, 17: radix omn. malor, amor pecuniae, as it doubtless is also of two passages in Cassian, which, as far as the subsequent tradition of this verse is concerned, are of great importance, Inst. vii, 6-7 and especially Conl. v, 1 ff., the discourse which he puts into the mouth of the monk Serapion, on the eight principal sins; the third sin is *philargyria*, id est, *avaritia* sive amor pecuniae. This passage and the poetic treatment of the theme by his younger contemporary Prudent. Psych.

⁵⁵ This appears in several of the early English Charters, cf. Thorpe, Diplomatarium Anglicum, pp. 193, 260, borrowed no doubt from some Glossary or from some one of the earlier authors quoted in my text.

454 ff. are the first of many such discussions in Latin patristic literature on the deadly sins, among which *avaritia* (or *cupiditas*) always has a place, and in connection with it this verse of St. Paul is often quoted; cf. e.g. Greg. Mor. xxxi, 45 (P. L. 76, 620 ff.), where he describes the army of the sins of which Superbia is the queen, having seven sins, among them Avaritia, as her commanders; also Mor. xiv, 53; xv, 18, xx, 10. Both Cassian and Gregory were used by Isidore, who in several passages discusses *septem perfecta vel principalia vitia*; cf. de Diff. Spirt. 25, Sent. ii, 37 ff., where he gives *avaritia* in his list in ch. 37 but in ch. 41 quotes the verse from Timothy with *cupiditas*. A list of seven is also given by Theodulf, Capitulare, P. L. 105, 218. On the other hand the *octo principalia vitia* of Cassian are discussed at length by St. Cummian in his de Mens. Penitent., P. L. 87, 979 ff., and are referred to by Alcuin in his "Confession of Sins," Off. per Ferias, P. L. 101, 525. Alcuin in another list, de Ps. Usu i, 3 (P. L. 101, 470) specifically mentions *cupiditas*, but in de Virt. et Vit. 27 (ib. 633) he has *avaritia* among the eight. The discussion in Hrab. Maur. de Vit. et Virt. iii, 51 (P. L. 112, 1375), which incorporates phrases from the writings of many of his predecessors, may depend upon Cassian for the sentence, *Philargyria quae interpretatur avaritia sive amor pecuniae, omnium criminum materia est, unde et apostolus ait, r. o. m. est cupiditas*; id. Penitent. Lib. 32 (ib. 1420), where are given the Acts of various Councils concerning *avaritia*, among them that of Toledo, ch. 23, describing it as *radix cunctorum malorum*. The comment of Augustine on Genesis, quoted above, seems in part at least to be behind the statement in Walafr. Strab., Gloss. Ord. P. L. 114, 631: *cupiditas in Graeco habetur φιλαργυρία; si ergo avaritia habetur . . . pro genere quod cupiditas ponitur species*; cf. also, Abelard., Sic et non, 47 (P. L. 149, 1415-6).

With this evidence, which might easily be multiplied, for the widespread use of *avaritia* in this verse it is unnecessary to look further for the source of Map's quotation. I may note, however, that, although this chapter of Timothy does not appear among the lessons in Roman and English books, a part of it, including verses 6-14, forms the reading in the Mass for a

Confessor in Miss. Mozarab. P. L. 85, 968, with verse 10 in the Vulgate form, and in the Mass for Many Confessors in the Lect. Lux. P. L. 72, 211. Moreover in Aelfric, Hom. xvi, de Memoria Sanct. (Skeat, I, 336 ff.), there is an interesting catalogue of the eight sins and their contrasted virtues, derived from Cassian; here (p. 356) as in Cassian, the þridde leahter is avaritia, þæt is seo yfelle gitsung (cupiditas) / und seo is wyrtruna aelcere wohnysse. To be noted finally is the presence of *avaritia* in a sermon of Maximus (P. L. 57, 319), which forms the lesson for Fer. vii Hebd. I Quadr. in Brev. Sar. dexvi, radicem malorum omnium avaritiam cohercere; contrast Vita S. Eligii, P. L. 87, 540: Apostolus cupiditatem cohercens dixit, r. o. m. est cupiditas. For an example of the later treatment of the sins, I may refer to Chaucer's Parson's Tale and to the investigation into its sources by Kate O. Peterson, Sources of the Parson's Tale, Boston, 1901. One would like to know also the source of the King James' version of this verse, "The love of money is the root of all evil."

There remain two quotations which, although they reproduce biblical phraseology, differ from those already discussed in that they cannot be assigned, like those, to a definite Bible verse as their ultimate source, but do appear in liturgical texts:

Map, p. 42, 15: *spoliamus Egyptios, ditemus Ebreos*. James puts the words within quotation marks, but refers to no source, remarking in his note, p. 264, that the same phrase is quoted by Girald. Cambr. Spec. Eccl. iii, 12 (Rolls Ser. IV, 204); also, I may add, by Matt. Par. Chron. M (Rolls Ser.) III, 209. Although we read in Ex. 12, 36 that filii Israel . . . *spoliaverunt Aegyptios*, it is only in the liturgy that we find the entire phrase, in the familiar prayer beginning, *Exultet iam angelica turba coelorum*, which was said at the blessing of the Easter Candle on the Vigil of Easter, or, more properly, in the *Contestatio* which follows that prayer:⁵⁶ *O vere beata nox quae spoliavit Aegyptios, ditavit Hebraeos*. Only in the Gallican and Roman

⁵⁶ On this ceremony, cf. Duchesne, Christian Worship, 250-257; Cabrol, Le Livre de la Prière Antique, 348-353; for the liturgical uses in connection with it, cf. the notes of Leslie to his edition of the Miss. Mozarab., printed in P. L. 85, 445-6; and for the variant readings in the various books in which this prayer occurs, cf. Bannister's notes to his edition of the Miss. Goth. II, 51-5.

books do we find the entire prayer, which in the Miss. Goth. is ascribed to St. Augustine (cf. Bannister, op. cit. I, 67), and it evidently had a place in English texts from the beginning; cf. Leofric Miss., p. 96; Miss. of Robt. Jumièges, p. 92; Miss. Sar., p. 119; Ebor. I, 116; Westm. II, 582; also in the York and Sarum Manuals; cf. Henderson, p. 114. Other references, to which I may add Grimoald. Lib. Sacr. P. L. 121, 802, are given by Bannister in his notes, Miss. Goth. II, 51-55, where the various versions are compared, and by Legg, Miss. Westm. III, 1512.

Map, p. 20, 27: in quacumque hora ingemuerit peccator, salvus erit. James remarks in his note, p. 263: "This is probably a reminiscence of Ezek. 33, 12. . . . The phrase is quoted by Robertus Pullus (P. L. 186, 911) and Petrus Comestor (Sermons, P. L. 198, 1757), and occurs in very nearly this form in Ps.-Aug. de conflictu vit. et virt. (in P. L. 40, 1099), in quacumque die peccator conversus ingemuerit, salvus erit. It may be colored by the Old Latin of Is. 30, 15, which is quoted by Lucifer of Cagliari (Vienna ed., p. 63): cum conversus ingemueris tunc salvus eris et scies ubi fueris." This statement is not quite exact, since the quotation in Robt. Pullus has, instead of *salvus erit*, omnium iniquitatum eius non recordabor (from Ezek. 18, 22), and that in Petrus, in a Sermon for Ash Wednesday (P. L. 198, 1751), contains only the first clause, in quacumque hora ingemuerit.

In order to understand the tradition of this quotation, it is necessary to begin, not with Lucifer, but with Cyprian, who in his de Lapsis, a book which in the early Church had almost the authority of the Bible, in discussing penitence, quotes Is. 30, 15 and Ezek. 33, 11, just as Lucifer does who is probably drawing from him (cf. above, p. 211, n. 45); cf. ch. 36 (C. S. E. L., p. 263): cum conversus fueris et gemueris tunc salvaberis et scies ubi fueris et iterum, nolo mortem morientis dicit Dominus, quantum ut revertatur et vivat. Cyprian's first quotation, which appears in the same form (except *ingemueris*) in Spec. 5 and 23 (C. S. E. L., pp. 336, 399) and with slight changes in Rufinus, ad Civ. Nazian (C. S. E. L., p. 196), and which probably represents the "African type" of pre-Jerome texts, is in

close agreement with the Greek of Origen's recension of the LXX: ὅταν ἀποστραφεῖς στενάξης τότε σωθήσῃ καὶ γνώσῃ ποῦ ἔσθῃ (so in Swete's ed. of the LXX, III, 154). To this reading Jerome, in Ezek. 30, 15 (P. L. 24, 356) bears witness; after quoting the Vulgate form of Is. 30, 15, he adds: LXX: cum reversus ingemueris tunc salvus eris, etc. The Vulgate form, si revertamini et quiescatis, salvi eritis, which is so quoted by August. Spec. 19, is closer to the Hebrew, which, however, has nouns instead of verbs, and to the Greek version of Symmachus: ἐν μετανοίᾳ καὶ ἀναπαύσει σωθήσεσθε.⁵⁷ Jerome's Latin became definitive as far as the Bible text was concerned and the Old Latin has left no traces; we find the Vulgate reading, for example, as the Capitulum in Leofric Coll. I, 96, for Sabb. Hebdom. I Quadr. Owing, however, to the influence of Cyprian, whenever the matter of sin and repentance is discussed, his quotation of Is. 30, 15 is always used and is combined with phrases from Ezek. 33, 11-12, in the form discussed above (p. 211): nolo mortem peccatoris . . . in quacumque die conversus fuerit, and often with others from Ezek. 18, 21-22, si autem peccator egerit penitentiam, etc.; to produce a new whole, such as is seen in Ps.-August. Confl. Vit. et Virt., quoted above. Whether the writer of this tractate, whoever he may have been, was the first to combine these phrases into this particular form, I am unable to say; we find a partial combination in the de Grat. of Faustus of Riez, written about 475 (C. S. E. L. XXI, 38): in quacumque die ingemueris tunc salvus eris; so too in Alcuin. Orat. 9 (P. L. 101, 501) and again, with some differences, in his Liber de Virt. et Vit. (P. L. ib. 623): qui per prophetam ait: in quacumque die conversus fuerint peccator vita vivet et non morietur (Ezek. 18, 21). All these formulae appear in the sermon ascribed to Eligius of Noyon (about 641) by Audoen in his Life of the Saint (P. L. 87, 541): Nolo inquit mortem impiis sed ut revertatur et vivat, et per Isaiam clamat, dicens, quando conversus ingemueris, tunc salvus eris, etc., also in a sermon of Haymo, de Confessoribus, in Charlemagne's Homiliar. P. L. 95, 1559): nolo mortem peccatoris . . . peccator quacumque die conversus fuerit et ingemuerit, salvus erit, and several times in

⁵⁷ Cf. Field, Origenis Hexapla, II, 488, for the different Greek versions.

Hrabanus Maurus; cf. *de Modo Penitentiae* 8 (P. L. 112, 1314); *Poenitentium Lib. I* (ib. 1412); *de Vit. et Virt.* iii, Praef. (ib. 1344), where *salvus erit* is replaced by *peccata eius non reputabuntur*; cf. also Liutprand. *Antop.*, p. 277 (MGH, Pertz, *Script.* III): in quacumque die peccator ingemuerit, salvus erit; also p. 310. The continued association of these verses from Isaiah and Ezekiel resulted in many cases in uncertainty, still to be seen among the editors of these authors, regarding their exact source, so that even Alcuin can write, *de Conf. Pecc.* (P. L. 101, 652): qui per prophetam Ezechialem ait, cum conversus fueris et ingemueris tunc salvaberis; cf. Cyprian, cited above.

How far back we may place the use of these verses in the formal liturgy there is no means of knowing. They may have had a place in Greek penitential prayers and it is possible that the language of such prayers is echoed in the *Didascalia Apostolorum*,⁵⁸ in the section, ii, 12, dealing with penitents; Ezek. 30, 11-12 is quoted directly and there may be a reference to Is. 30, 15, in the words, "When they," the sinners, "repent and weep and sigh for their sins." It is interesting to find similar language in a Homily of Aelfric for Ash Wednesday (*Hom.* xii, Skeat, I, 272), where the same passage from Ezek. is quoted in part, followed by a similar statement: "the man who desires to weep for his sins and to make satisfaction."

Although I have been unable to find Map's quotation in precisely the same form either in Greek or Latin liturgical texts, there are in several of our earliest English books phrases which resemble it. Thus, in the *Canterbury Bened.*, p. 30, in a prayer said at the Absolution of Penitents on Holy Thursday, beginning *Domine Deus omnipotens, rex regum et dominus dominantium, aeterne pontifex*, we find the words: *nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat. Et iterum quacumque hora conversus ingemuerit peccator peccata eius in oblivione erunt.*⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Cf. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1906; for an English trans., R. Hugh Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, Oxford, 1929, p. 42.

⁵⁹ This prayer is found also in Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus, libri quattuor*; Rotomagi, 1700-2, *Ordo XIV*, p. 87, but this part of the prayer reads: *in quacumque die peccator conversus fuerit et penitentiam egerit, omnia peccata, etc.* With the beginning of this prayer we may compare the beginning of the *Benedictus* in the *Missa*

This same prayer occurs in the Lanalet Pontifical, p. 79, but here *ingemuert* is omitted, *quacumque hora conversus fuerit peccator, omnia, etc.* In this book also, p. 80, in a second prayer beginning *Deus innocentiae restitutor et amator*, we find, in *quacumque die conversus fuerit homo peccator, vita vivet, etc.*, a form appearing in this prayer in the Bened. of Archb. Robert, p. 60 and in the Canterbury Bened., p. 34. It is possible, therefore, that Map was not recalling the exact liturgical text, but was quoting from some literary source such as those noted above. Closer to the liturgical form is the prayer of Roland before going into battle as it appears in some of the versions of the Chronicle of Ps.-Turpin: *Domine Iesu Christe . . . qui . . . dissimulans peccata hominum ad te revertencium, qui peccatoris facinora in quacumque die ad te conversus fuerit et ingemuert, oblivioni in perpetuum tradis,*⁶⁰ etc. What relation there may be between the prayers in the English books and a prayer which is found in the Service for the Sick in an 11th century North Italian book,⁶¹ must be left for others to determine. The prayer begins, p. 45: *Deus pietatis, deus pacis, deus indulgentiae omnium delictorum, qui non vis mortem peccatoris, and continues, qui . . . dignatus est dicere, convertimini ad me et qua hora conversi ingemuertis salvi eritis.*

In evaluating the evidence afforded by these selected examples, it must be remembered that they represent but a very small part of the entire number. Most of these are quotations which agree verbally with the Vulgate text, but, since they also occur in the service-books, it is impossible to say definitely from which source Map learned them. The fact, however, that some of them appear in the well-known Canticles of the Church, that many more are phrases which are found, not only in lessons, but in chants, capitula, and prayers, that they often agree with the liturgical form against the Vulgate in word-order or in the omission of words where the omission need not be due to

Catechumenorum in Constitutiones Apost. viii, 9, 7: *παντοκράτορ, θεὸς αἰώνιος δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων κτίστα καὶ πρύτανι τῶν πάντων.*

⁶⁰ Cf. C. Meredith-Jones, *Historia Caroli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du Ps.-Turpin*, Paris, 1936, p. 197.

⁶¹ Ed. D. Lambot, *H. B. Soc.*, 1931.

the context, makes it at least probable that they should be referred to the service-books rather than to a specific Bible text. Of the quotations which show verbal variants from the Vulgate, some, as the last two discussed above, *must* derive from a liturgical source, others almost certainly so, since there is agreement between the form in Map and other writers and the liturgical form against the evidence of available Bible mss. Moreover the retention in the authors and the liturgy of pre-Jerome variants can in many cases be most easily explained by reference to ecclesiastical texts used in worship, such as Homilies and Saints' Lives, in which such variants occur. The fact, which has been illustrated by some of the examples quoted above, that many authors, writing at different periods, employ the phraseology of Map and the liturgy in those quotations which show differences in these respects from biblical mss. suggests that the principle of liturgical influence may be of widespread application and far-reaching importance.

APPENDIX

The following liturgical texts, in addition to those cited in the footnotes, were consulted:

ROMAN

- Sacramentarium Leonianum, in Migne, Patr. Lat. 55, 21-158 and in Assman, Codex liturgicus ecclesiae universae, vol. VI, Rome, 1902.
 Missale Francorum, P. L. 72, 317-40, from Mabillon, De liturgia gallicana, Libri III, Paris, 1685.
 Sacramentarium Gelasianum, P. L. 74, 1055-1244, from Muratori, Lit. Rom. vetus, v. I, 493-776, and H. A. Wilson, Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae, Oxford, 1894.
 Missale Romanum, Milan, 1474 and ed. by R. Lippe, H. B. Soc., London, 1899.
 The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great, ed. H. A. Wilson, H. B. Soc., London, 1915.

GALLICAN

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THE BAY PSALM BOOK AND HARVARD HYMNODY ¹

HENRY WILDER FOOTE

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THE BAY PSALM BOOK, which was printed here in Cambridge three hundred years ago this summer, is something much more significant than a bibliographical rarity or a literary curiosity. Its early editions are, of course, choice items of Americana for collectors, and its verse, which at first sight seems so uncouth, has provoked the derision or sarcasm of unsympathetic critics who have done no more than glance at it. Unfortunately most people know little more about the book than these widely publicized facts. But the Bay Psalm Book deserves respectful consideration on other and better grounds, for it is the earliest literary monument of the English-speaking colonists on this continent; it is a key to an understanding of their religious life; and it was the fountain-head of that great stream of later American hymnody of which it is the direct spiritual ancestor.

The Pilgrims brought with them to Plymouth the Psalm Book which Ainsworth had published in 1607 for the use of the Separatists in Holland. Ainsworth was a competent Hebrew scholar, and he had lived long enough in Holland to appreciate the excellence of the French and Dutch psalm-tunes in use in the Reformed Church on the Continent. To fit these tunes he translated the psalms into a greater variety of metres than those previously used in England. His book had considerable and long-continued use in Holland and England as well as at Plymouth, and we have testimony that the Pilgrims at the time of their departure from Holland sang their psalms well.

The Puritans who settled the Massachusetts Bay Colony ten years later, like the settlers of the southern colonies, were familiar with the Psalter of Sternhold and Hopkins — more generally known in the eighteenth century as “The Old Version” — which, at the time of their emigration, had been in use

¹ Address before Harvard Divinity Alumni Association, April 16, 1940.

in England for more than two generations. Several editions of this book were available with musical settings, the best being Ravenscroft's, which was published in 1621. Ravenscroft was a well trained musician who had enlisted the coöperation of the best musical talent of his day, and his collection of ninety-seven psalm-tunes remained the standard one for the greater part of the seventeenth century. It was well known to the Puritans who settled New England.

Why, when these long accepted psalm-books were available, did the New England Puritans so promptly set about the preparation of yet another metrical version of the psalms? The answer is to be found in the then universally held doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Bible. Since it was obviously impracticable to sing the psalms in the original Hebrew of the inspired text, it was important that the translations into English should be as accurate as possible, that nothing should be detracted from or added to the Word of God. Now while the peculiar rhythms and parallel verse-structure of Hebrew poetry lend themselves well to translation in the rhythmical prose of the King James' Bible, or that of Coverdale in the Book of Common Prayer, it has always been very difficult to translate the psalms into English metres with strict adherence to the original meaning. No one, not even John Milton, ever succeeded in doing it really well. Either the precise meaning of the ancient author or the quality of the English verse had to be sacrificed. The long history of English psalmody illustrates the contest between the party which demanded a "close-fitting" translation of the psalms, and the party which cared more for beauty of expression than for the exact meaning of the original.

But for the Puritans the choice was clear. The inspired Word of God must not be tampered with, and even the familiar version of Sternhold and Hopkins was not sufficiently exact to be satisfactory. Cotton Mather states their views with precision: —

Tho' they blessed God for the Religious Endeavours of them who translated the Psalms into the Meetre usually annex'd at the end of the Bible, yet they beheld in the Translations so many Detractions from, Additions to,

and Variations of, not only the Text, but the very Sense of the Psalmist, that it was an Offense to them.²

Therefore, in 1636, the same year in which Harvard College was founded, the work of producing a fresh metrical translation which should faithfully adhere to the Hebrew text was parcelled out among "thirty pious and learned Ministers . . . the chief Divines in the country (who) took each of them a Portion to be translated." One is led to wonder whether there are today as many ministers in the vicinity of Boston who would accept such a task. There is no evidence whatever as to how many of the thirty fulfilled their assignment, but we are probably safe in guessing that most of them, being much occupied with their parishes, did no more than offer a little free advice to the three men — Rev. Richard Mather of Dorchester, and Rev. Thomas Welde and Rev. John Eliot of Roxbury — who seem to have acted as a sort of informal editorial committee and who certainly did most of the versification. This is indicated by Cotton Mather who says that these three "were of so different a Genius for their Poetry, that Mr. Shepard of Cambridge, on the Occasion addressed them to this Purpose,

You Roxbury Poets, keep clear of the Crime
Of missing to give us a very good Rhime:
And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen,
But with the Text's own words, you will them strengthen."

The poets of Dorchester and Roxbury unfortunately were not really poets at all, though godly and learned men. It is as easy to pick out in the Bay Psalm Book verses with false accents, limping feet, and incongruous rhymes as it is difficult to see how they could be sung at all. But it is also easy to exaggerate the uncouthness of the verse, and few people have taken the trouble to note that there are occasional lines with a rugged beauty of their own. Listen to these from the 139th Psalm.

(vss. 9-10)

If I take morning's wings and dwell
Where outmost sea-coasts bee,
E'en there thy hand shall me conduct;
And thy right hand hold mee.

² C. Mather, *Magnalia Christi*, III, 100.

- (vs. 11) Then shall the night about mee be
 like to the lightsome day
- (vs. 14) Because that I am fashioned
 in fearful wondrous wise;
 And that thy works are merveilous,
 my soul right well describes.

The preface to the book was probably written by Richard Mather, for a rough draft in his hand is in the Boston Public Library. He was evidently well aware of the pitfalls in the path of hymn-book editors for he begins on a note of conciliation.

The singing of Psalms, though it breathe forth nothing but holy harmony, and melody; yet such is the subtilty of the enemie, and the enmity of our nature against the Lord, and his wayes, that our hearts can find matter of discord in this harmony & crochets of division in this holy melody.

And he concludes,

If the verses are not always so smooth and elegant as some may desire or expect, let them consider that God's Altar needs not our pollishings; Ex. 20, for we have respected rather a plaine translation, than to smooth our verses with the sweetness of any paraphrase, and so have attended Conscience rather than Elegance, fidelity rather than poetry, in translating the hebrew words into English language, and David's poetry into English meetre: that soe wee may sing in Sion the Lord's songs of praise according to his own will: until he take us hence and wipe away all our tears, and bid us entre our master's joy to sing eternal Hallelujahs.

Rev. Thomas Prince of the Old South Church a century later wrote of the book that it had "the Honour of being the *First Book* printed in *North America*," — a statement which holds true if we add "North of Mexico," for we know, as Prince did not, that a printing press had been established in Mexico City in 1539, just a hundred years earlier than the Cambridge press. The little Cambridge hand press had been imported in the fall of 1638, as the property of Rev. Jose Glover, who, however, had died on the voyage, so that it was his widow who set it up in Cambridge, with Stephen Day in charge, and it was Day whom the General Court rewarded in 1641 "as the first that set upon printing with a grant of 300 acres of land." In August, 1640, about the time that the Bay Psalm Book actually appeared, Henry Dunster arrived to serve as the first presi-

dent of Harvard College. He soon married the widow Glover and after her death the press was removed to the new house which was built as a residence for the president. A few years later it became the property of the College, but it was more of a liability than an asset and half a century later it was dismantled and removed to Boston. Neither the commercial University Press of modern Cambridge nor the Harvard University Press can claim a direct descent from it, for both are relatively recent foundations. But Harvard College can claim an indirect sponsorship for the Bay Psalm Book, for John Eliot and Richard Mather were members of the first Board of Overseers of the newly established College, and Dunster was its president.

The Bay Psalm Book was eagerly welcomed by the churches for which it had been prepared. Seventeen hundred copies were printed in the first edition, of which twelve survive, only three in perfect condition. A second edition, of which only two copies survive, appeared in 1647. But while the book met with general approval, it was felt that there was some room for improvement. As Cotton Mather puts it,

It was thought that a little more of Art was to be employed upon them [the psalms]: And for that Cause, they were committed unto Mr. Dunster, who Revised and Refined this Translation; and (with some assistance from Mr. Richard Lyon . . .) he brought it into the Condition wherein our Churches ever since have used it.

Dunster did a careful job and produced a markedly improved version which appeared in 1651. It included metrical versions of more than a score of Biblical passages besides the Psalms, among them one of The Song of Solomon. Of course the accepted interpretation of the frankly amorous passages was that they portrayed the love of Christ and his Church, but nevertheless the inclusion of a poem beginning,

Let him with kisses of his mouth
be pleaséd me to kiss,
Because much better than the wine
thy loving kindness is, —

provided the Puritan youths and maidens of New England with an attractive and quotable little group of love-songs right in their own psalm-books.

No edition of the Bay Psalm Book earlier than that of 1698 contained any music, presumably because of lack of any facilities for printing it. But the book from the first did contain an "Admonition" referring to the tunes to which the psalms were to be sung, recommending particularly those that "are collected, out of our chief musicians, by *Tho. Ravenscroft*." The point to be observed is that the editors were acquainted with, and recommended to users of the book, the very best collection of tunes which the age afforded. By the end of the seventeenth century, however, ability to sing had so declined in all the colonies that the edition of 1698 printed only thirteen of the simplest and most familiar tunes, and this was too large a number for the musical illiterates in many churches.

For one hundred years the Bay Psalm Book reigned supreme in New England and its use extended not only as far south in the Colonies as Philadelphia, but to England and Scotland. Over fifty editions were printed, about half of them in Great Britain. Only a few metrical versions of the psalms have had longer or more extended use. But by the eighteenth century dissatisfaction with it developed from causes very similar to those which led to complaint against Sternhold and Hopkins in England. With the change of taste marked by the transition in English poetry from Spenser to Addison, both Sternhold and Hopkins and Bay Psalm Book had come to seem archaic and uncouth. Even Cotton Mather must have been dissatisfied with his grandfather's work, for in 1718 he published his *Psalterium Americanum*, a very curious book of which the only significance is that it illustrates the logical outcome of the principle of literal adherence to the text of the psalms in total disregard of the desirability of poetic form. But other New Englanders were discovering that there was something to be said for poetic form. Tate and Brady's New Version had appeared in England in 1696 and soon made its way to this country, the first Boston edition being printed in 1713 for use in King's Chapel. And both the Hymns and The Psalms Imitated by Isaac Watts had an early welcome here, though as devotional poetry rather than for use in church. The New Version, however, was gradually introduced into most of the

Episcopal churches in the colonies, and the Great Awakening spread far and wide the use of Watts by the middle of the century. By 1750 Rev. John Barnard of Marblehead substituted his own version of the psalms for the Bay Psalm Book, and in 1758 Rev. Thomas Prince brought out a thoroughly revised and improved edition of the Bay Psalm Book, in a last effort to maintain its prestige, but he added to it a supplement of fifty hymns, mostly from Watts, but including one by himself, beginning,

With Christ and all his shining Train
Of Saints and Angels, we shall rise
To pass the glittering Worlds around
While Heav'n wide opens to our eyes.

Evidently the old dogma that "man-made hymns" were not fit for public worship had lost its hold in New England.

In the meantime other Harvard graduates were preparing the way for a new hymnody by a different line of activity. Congregational singing had sunk to a deplorable level in all the colonies, owing to the general lack of music books and of instruction in music. The New England ministers were the first to take a hand in remedying this condition by encouraging people to sing "by rule," that is by learning to read musical notation, rather than "by rote," that is by ear. The originator of this movement was Rev. John Tufts (Class of 1708) of Newbury who, about 1712, published a little booklet of tunes, with directions for their use derived from the English musicians Thomas Ravenscroft and John Playford. This was the first book of instruction in music to be published in the colonies and it ran through eleven editions. The author reinforced its influence by organizing singing-schools and by giving public lectures on music. Tufts was followed by Rev. Thomas Symmes of Bradford, who published a sermon on the subject, and an imaginary Dialogue, in which, with a mixture of humor and good sense he met the arguments of those who opposed as sacrilegious the introduction of the "new way" of singing. More important still was the work of Rev. Thomas Walter (Class of 1713) of Roxbury, who in 1721 published *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained*, which went well beyond the

ground covered by Tufts and remained the standard work for forty years, and who also preached a sermon on *The Sweet Psalmist of Israel* which was a whole-hearted defence of music in general. Many other ministers followed in their lead, several of whom printed their discourses for wider circulation. All but one of these discourses are by Harvard graduates, the exception being Nathaniel Chauncey who held a Yale degree but who was a grandson of President Charles Chauncey of Harvard, and only one minister is recorded as being publicly opposed to the "new way" of singing. To the efforts of these ministers is due the first revival of singing in New England, between 1715 and 1730. The movement had the strong support of the young people and prepared the way for the introduction of instrumental support for singing in church, at first only a pitch-pipe, then the bass-viol, finally the organ. It also stimulated interest in other music than psalm-tunes, for there was no reason why the singing-schools, which generally met in the schoolhouses, should not there sing other types of choral music, and there was little or no objection to instrumental music outside the churches. The earliest recorded public concert of instrumental music in the North American colonies was given in Boston in 1731.

By the time of the Revolution the Bay Psalm Book had given way in most churches to Tate and Brady or to Watts, and the people had grown accustomed to an increasing use of hymns, generally of English origin, though a few native hymn-writers had appeared. Before the century ended hymn-books — as distinguished from psalm-books — were beginning to appear, and Harvard graduates were for several decades to play an important part as the editors of some of the outstanding collections. Among the best early books were those of Rev. William Bentley (Class of 1777) of Salem, and Rev. Jeremy Belknap (Class of 1762), Channing's immediate predecessor in the Federal Street Church. There is no time to discuss these books, or the nearly forty collections edited by Harvard graduates which followed them in the course of the nineteenth century. Except for Samuel Francis Smith's collection for the Baptists, entitled *The Psalmist*, they were almost all produced for use in Uni-

tarian churches, but Dr. Benson, the eminent Presbyterian hymnologist says of their editors that they "succeeded in imparting to [their] hymn-books a freshness of interest in great contrast to those of the orthodox churches," and that "from their hands proceeded . . . a series of hymn books whose literary interest was very notable." In truth these compilations represent a broadening of the stream which finds its fountain-head in *The Bay Psalm Book* and through them Harvard men made an influential contribution to the development of American hymnody.

Old hymn books, however important as sources to the student of hymnody, offer but a dry subject to the layman, who is more interested in the writers of hymns. And throughout the nineteenth century Harvard remained the most important institution in the English-speaking world for the education of hymn-writers, — indeed no other college or university approaches Harvard in this field, the nearest parallel being Trinity College, Cambridge, England, from which, between 1820 and 1845, proceeded a notable but much briefer succession of Anglican hymn-writers.

The Harvard hymn-writers of the nineteenth century may conveniently be divided into three groups. The earliest, who began to publish in the first third of the century, include Henry Ware, Jr., Andrews Norton, Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham, and Frederic H. Hedge — all but Frothingham professors in this School. While much that they wrote has disappeared, at least one fine hymn by each is still to be found in modern books. With this group should also be included President John Quincy Adams, who towards the end of an active political life found time to make a metrical version of the psalms. It was not published in its entirety, but his minister, Rev. W. P. Lunt of Quincy, included twenty-two of Adams' hymns and psalms in his collection, *The Christian Psalter* (1841), and one or two of them still appear in a few books.

Much more important, however, was the crop of hymn-writers in the middle third of the century for whom Harvard College was the nursing mother. That group includes Samuel Francis Smith, the foremost Baptist hymn-writer and hymn-

book editor whom this country has yet produced, who wrote a dozen fine and widely used hymns, among them his earliest — My Country, 'Tis of Thee; and the Episcopalian Phillips Brooks with his beloved Christmas hymn, O Little Town of Bethlehem. More characteristic of the Harvard School was the work of Samuel Longfellow and Samuel Johnson. While still undergraduates in the Divinity School, in the Class of 1846, they produced their Book of Hymns, for a friend who, like themselves, found even the latest Unitarian books of the period too traditional in tone. This is the book which Theodore Parker is reputed to have hailed with the remark, "I see we have a new book of Sams!" It marked a new epoch because of the freshness and originality of its point of view, and because of the new materials which it introduced. For example, Johnson and Longfellow were the first to see the hymnic possibilities of Whittier's poems. And this book and its more famous successor, *Hymns of the Spirit* (1864), contain practically all of the great hymns which the editors themselves wrote and generally published as anonymous. Longfellow was much the more prolific of the two, and wrote two dozen hymns of high quality, but nothing by him surpassed Johnson's now widely used

City of God, how broad and far
Outspread thy walls sublime.

Of the other writers of this middle period it must suffice to name only Emerson, Theodore Parker and Edward Rowland Sill, each with a single fine hymn — William H. Furness, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Edmund Hamilton Sears, with his two Christmas hymns, of which the first was written in this hall — James Freeman Clarke, James Russell Lowell and Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

The writers of the middle third of the century were followed by a somewhat smaller but not less notable group as the century drew to a close. William C. Gannett and F. L. Hosmer graduated from the College and the Divinity School in the 1860's, but not until the following two decades did they come to occupy a position similar to that held earlier by Longfellow and Johnson. Of the two, Hosmer was by far the more notable,

though Gannett wrote a few lovely hymns. Hosmer, however, ranks with Samuel Longfellow and Whittier as one of the best hymn-writers whom this country has yet produced. His hymns are too well-known to require quotation. Contemporary with Gannett and Hosmer in this School and in his professional life was John White Chadwick, another beloved minor poet, whose finest hymn, *Eternal Ruler of the Ceaseless Round*, was written for Visitation Day here. The custom of inviting students to write a Visitation Day hymn, or, in this century, one for the School's Christmas service, has brought to light a number of good hymns.

One more Harvard graduate of the last third of the century remains to be mentioned. Theodore C. Williams, who graduated from the Divinity School in 1882, was a classical scholar and author of a considerable amount of carefully studied poetry. His most widely known hymn is his appealing song of brotherhood, *When Thy Heart with Joy O'erflowing*, but he wrote a half-dozen other hymns of fine quality.

It has seemed surprising to some people that this abundant stream of devotional verse of a high order should have arisen at Harvard, where the atmosphere was supposed to be coldly intellectual and in an age when science was thought destructive of spirituality. Thus, after the death of Canon Dearmer, the noted Anglican hymnologist, a contributor to the *London Spectator* wrote,

Dr. Dearmer once observed to me how strange it was that some of the best modern hymns seemed to be by American Unitarians. He had in mind Samuel Johnson's "City of God," F. L. Hosmer's "Thy kingdom come," and, of course, O. W. Holmes' "Lord of all being."

But Canon Dearmer had himself given the answer when he wrote, in criticism of certain Anglican hymnals,

While English compilers and translators were ransacking the material of the Dark Ages and adding translations from hymns of the Counter-Reformation to those of medieval origin, the modern American school was hardly consulted — if at all — by Anglican compilers; and as it happened, it was just in America that the best hymns, and those most in accord with the convictions of the modern age, were then being written.³

³ Songs of Praise Discussed, p. 5.

Those American hymns, upon which Dearmer himself, as editor of his great Songs of Praise, drew more largely than any previous Anglican compiler, were chiefly the product of these Harvard men who had found here the conditions conducive to a fresh outburst of sacred song. The writers belonged by blood, by education and by social ties with the New England literary group. They were set down here as impressionable young men in the period when the flowering of New England literature was stimulating to poetic expression. The age was a stirring one, great issues were at stake. A great transformation of religious thought was in process. These men were adventurers in faith; they needed new songs for the coming day. Every great epoch of spiritual awakening in Christian history has been similarly marked by an outburst of new hymnody. And here their education was undogmatic and they were under no bonds to keep within the limits of an established creed or ritual. If any justification were needed for the religious freedom at Harvard at that period it is to be found in the noble body of worship-song which her sons produced throughout the nineteenth century. About half of all the hymns of distinctive quality and lasting value which America produced in the nineteenth century came from their pens. In the language of their own day they were carrying on the work of the makers of the Bay Psalm Book.

This stream of Harvard hymnody which flowed with so rich and full a current in the nineteenth century has not come to an end in our day. One of the outstanding contributors to the hymns of brotherhood and of the social gospel so characteristic of modern religious thought is Rev. John Haynes Holmes, who graduated from the Divinity School in 1904. His finest hymn is his great call to the service of mankind,

The voice of God is calling
Its summons unto men,

but he has written a dozen others which are cast in vigorous and often stirring verse of high quality. Probably no other American hymn-writer now living has produced as many widely known hymns, although Dr. W. Russell Bowie, lately of Grace Church, New York, who graduated from the College in

the same year that Dr. Holmes left the Divinity School, has written a smaller number of hymns which are quite as good. And several more recent graduates from the College have produced a few others which give promise of establishing themselves in use.

Several recent students at the Divinity School have also made contributions of a different type to recent American hymnody. Harry Webb Farrington and Dean Earl Marlatt are graduates of Boston University, but both did some work here. The former's

I know not how that Bethlehem babe
Could in the Godhead be,

was the Christmas hymn here in 1910, and two other hymns, written for Christmas services in the Divinity School by the Congregationalist W. M. Crane and the Moravian Douglas LeTell Rights, are to be found in the new Hymns of the Spirit which has borrowed its title from Johnson and Longfellow's second book.

So, to quote Gannett's lovely verse,

From heart to heart, from creed to creed,
The hidden river runs;
It quickens all the ages down,
It binds the sires to sons.

And today, as we commemorate the devoted labors of the "pious and learned" men who three hundred years ago enriched the spiritual life of the pioneer days of New England by publishing the Bay Psalm Book, we may well echo the words with which its preface ends, though we put our own interpretation into the archaic phraseology, and may rejoice that we too can go upon our way singing

in Sion the Lord's songs of praise according to his own will, until he take us hence and wipe away all our tears, and bid us entre into our master's joy to sing eternal Hallelujahs.

